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Post-restoration period of the
Church in the British Isles

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THE
POST-RESTORATION PERIOD
OF
THE CHURCH
IN
THE BRITISH ISLES

LECTURES DELIVERED IN 1890 UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE
CHURCH CLUB OF NEW YORK, IN CONTINUATION
OF THE SERIES OF 1889

SECOND EDITION

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INTRODUCTION.

THE progress of the Church in the United States depends upon its adequacy to sustain the faith and hope and engage the affections of the American people. It is a question of dealing with the difficulties, not only of individuals here and there, but also of great classes of the people : of the intellectual and cultivated, of the rich and prosperous, of the poor and wretched, of the farmer and the merchant, the artisan and the laborer, the shop-girl and the domestic servant. Believing in the divine origin and the divine guidance of the Catholic Church, churchmen feel a calm trust in her capacity in this land to accomplish her divine mission ; and for the

evidence by which their confidence is justified, they point to her glorious achievements, as well as to her divine institution, and to her progress in every part of the world, among all the races of men. They do not, however, shut their eyes to the failure of churchmen in many, perhaps in all, lands and all ages to conform their conduct to the two commandments which comprise the whole law and which are the subject of all the teaching of prophets; and in this failure they find the excuse for many of the defections from the Church which have occurred from time to time, and the occasion of much of the hostility or indifference with which great numbers regard her; whilst also they do not forget that pride, folly, error—in short, that sin, is also the motive of many defections and of much hostility and indifference. They also insist that the unending struggle in every human soul between righteousness and sin, between the will to keep the law and the will to break it, is not a defect in the

nature or organization of the Church, but only the cause of imperfection in her members. From this it would follow that if, as we believe, the Catholic Church has grown from the divine root according to a divine plan, it is reasonable to look for such a connection between the divine life and the Church's life as will heal and strengthen and revivify her whenever, through the weakness or disease of her members, her corporate soundness becomes impaired ; if God has made her and ordained her way through the ages, we should expect such a force of divine gravitation as will always keep her from losing her orbit, however much at times the attraction of sin in one form or another, upon her members, may deflect her course. To answer this expectation we appeal to history.

The history of this Church does not begin with the political independence of the United States, nor with the erection of a local episcopate who succeeded to the eccle-

siastical authority which was formerly exercised over the American parishes by the see of London. This is the same Church, the same continuous institution, that existed in England for centuries before this continent was discovered by Europeans. Her situation is analogous to that of a family ; whose history is not bounded by the settlement of an ancestor upon our shores, but goes back through all the past generations of that family in the land whence he came ; as the family history of Ephraim and Manasseh did not begin with the establishment of Joseph in Egypt, but extended back through him and his father to Isaac and Abraham, in Canaan, and through the entire patriarchal line to its source. The vicissitudes of the Church under William Norman and under the Tudors are the vicissitudes of our Church ; St. Chad and St. Anselm, St. Hugh of Lincoln and William of Wykeham, Laud and Andrewes, are our own fellow-churchmen, our own saints and heroes ; they belong to us as much as they

do to our brethren who still owe obedience to the see of Canterbury. It is good for us to remember these things, and thereby prize more highly the illustrious fellowship in which it is our privilege to take our places.

In a history extending back to the time when the Angles had not yet arrived in Britain, we have many and ample tests of the versatile fitness of this Church to deal with the conditions of her environment. We find her at different times face to face with almost all sorts of problems which the Catholic Church has ever and anywhere had to solve; and among others we find her in these conditions: at one period, a weak mission among heathens; at another, a disorganized community in which the Church's law was ignored and her teaching obscured; at another subjected to rulers alien to the people; later, wealthy, splendid, powerful, and in the state pre-eminent; then corrupt and worldly; afterward, more than once chastised, whether by robbery of her possessions, or by slaughter

of her ministers, or by proscription of her services, or by the desertion of her children ; again, deprived of her liberty and oppressed by the tyranny of the state to the point of spiritual exhaustion. Yet her Head has never withdrawn His Holy Spirit from her ; and out of every adversity she has risen again in her own true character, to diffuse the divine life within her among her members and to proclaim the eternal Gospel to mankind. What she has done in the past is evidence of her nature and capacities, and is proof of her sufficiency for the spiritual needs of the present day.

These needs are not different from those of any other age. What men need now, as in all generations before us they have needed, is God. The Church now, as in all the former ages of her history, is qualified to bring men to God. The obstacle now between God and man is sin ; it has never been anything else ; and the difference between the Church's task in one age and in another grows out

of the different kinds of obstacles to which sin gives rise. Sometimes they are material, as when civil society became well-nigh dissolved in social anarchy, when violence and folly drove the individual back upon himself for the maintenance of his very existence, and spiritual things became forgotten in the keenness of the struggle. The social difficulties of the present time are peace and harmony in comparison with the conditions which the Church had to deal with during the times of the Danish invasions or the anarchy of Stephen's reign. At all periods there have also been intellectual difficulties; but the eighteenth century presented to the Church problems of this description which were no harder to solve than the problems which confront her now are; whilst the intellectual difficulties of the nineteenth century are certainly no harder to meet than were those with which the Catholic Church in the second, third, and fourth centuries had to grapple.

The utility of studying the history of the Church is, in part, to impress upon our minds a consciousness of the continuous life of the Church of which we are members, and a conviction of her essential fitness to deal with the needs of the present time based upon her dealings with the needs of the past ; not entirely successful, because the human wills and intellects and hearts through which her work has to be done are not entirely reliable or efficient in their workings, and because the human beings who are the object of her ministry are not submissive material, but often defeat the most perfect logic or the most unselfish love, by their ignorance, or weakness, or wilfulness.

If the Sketches of the Continuous History of the Church in the British Isles and the Lectures on the History and Teaching of the Early Church, shall make this impression more vivid, and this conviction more fruitful, in the minds of those who heard them when they were delivered, or of those who shall

read them in print, the Church Club of New York, under whose auspices they have been given to the public, will have reason to feel that it has in some measure fulfilled the object of its organization, which is thus expressed in its constitution: "The object of this Society shall be to promote the study of the history and doctrines of the Church, and to stimulate the efforts of churchmen for her welfare and for the maintenance of the faith."

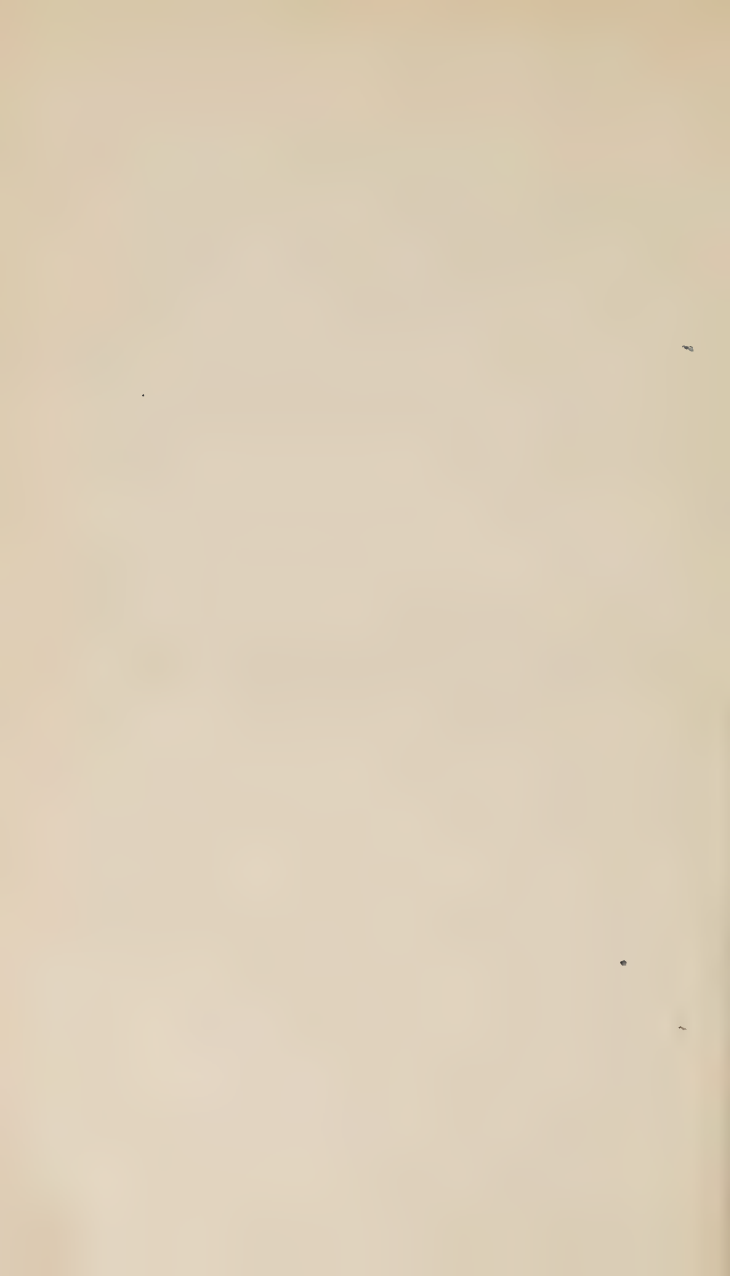
It is hoped that they will do more than this; that they will tend, in some degree, to illustrate the proposition that whatever justification may have existed, at different times, for the discontent, or discouragement, or indignation of earnest men, who were misguided to deserting the Church, as in the case of those who gave sectarian form to the Congregational, Presbyterian, or Methodist movements, or, as in the case of Newman and others, who renounced their allegiance to the Catholic Church in England in favor of the see of Rome; whatever justification

may have existed for their complaints, will be found in the shortcomings and transgressions of the Church's ministers and members, and not in any unfitness in herself, as an institution, to fulfil her divine mission. If this fact were clearly apprehended by those who now in good faith stand aloof from the Church's Apostolic Order and Doctrine, it is reasonable to hope that a great obstacle in the way of Christian Reunion might disappear.

The lectures published in this volume were delivered in Trinity Chapel, New York, during the Lent of 1890, and are in continuation of those of 1889, and complete the course on "The Church in the British Isles." In them the history of the Church in England is traced from the Restoration, when the Prayer-Book now in use there was adopted by the Convocations of Canterbury and York, and the last Act of Uniformity was passed by Parliament, through the oppressive reigns of William III. and the early

Georges, when the light of her spiritual life was so nearly extinguished by Erastianism and Latitudinarianism ; through the revival of personal religion under the great Evangelical movement, and through the return to the true principles of the English Reformation, which took its form and impulse at Oxford, and which carried out in the Catholic Revival the work begun by the Evangelical teachers more than a century ago.

The thanks of the Church Club, as well as those of all churchmen, are due to Bishops Perry and McLaren, Professors Richey and Davenport, and Dr. Mortimer for the learned and careful lectures which are contained in this book.



Settlement of 1662.

1. ACT OF UNIFORMITY.
2. FINAL SETTLEMENT OF ENGLISH PRAYER-BOOK.
3. RISE AND GROWTH OF NON-CONFORMITY.
4. SEPARATION OF PURITANS AS PRESBYTERIANS.

LECTURE I.

WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY, D.D. *Oxon.*, LL.D., D.C.L.,
Bishop of Iowa.

SETTLEMENT OF 1662.

THE restoration of the monarchy and the Church in the year of our Lord, 1660, was the work of the English nation, not of a party or a particular class. Puritanism in its earlier and later forms—Presbyterianism and Independency—had each been tried in the balance, and had been found wanting. The people of England, wearied with the vagaries of fanaticism; exhausted by internecine strife; affrighted at the rule of irresponsible military despotism; alarmed at the prospect of impending anarchy; disappointed and disgusted by the exhibitions of pretentious hypocrisy in religion as well as by the vapoing of indefensible theories by political *doctrinaires*; turned for relief to the Church and the throne, because in them alone they saw protection against hopeless disorder and a guaranty of liberty pro-

tected by law. All classes and conditions of men had grown impatient both of the pettiness and the tryanny of Puritanism. In the effort to secure spiritual results by material force, this form of religion, pretentious in its very name, and intolerant of every phase of belief but its own, had utterly failed. The masses of the English people revolted alike from the artificial, unreal system of life and belief which Puritanism had formulated, and from the attempt to force such a conception of religion upon the individual by enactments of law. It is the testimony of an apologist that the attempt to compel the adoption of Puritanism by the nation broke down "before the corruption of the Puritans themselves." * "It was impossible to distinguish," proceeds the same writer, John Richard Green, "between the saint and the hypocrite as soon as godliness became profitable." Ashley Cooper, says Green, "a sceptic in religion and a profligate in morals, was among 'the loudest bagpipes of the squeaking train.' Even among the really earnest Puritans, prosperity disclosed a pride, a worldliness, a selfish hardness, which had been hidden in the hour of persecution." †

The nation, tired of all this, with its welcoming of the monarchy, turned naturally and at once

* *A Short History of the English People*, p. 590.

† *Green's Short History*, pp. 590, 591.

to reinstate the Church, which had been for nearly a score of years, ruthlessly trodden under foot. This feeling was well-nigh universal.* A shrewd Scot, whose sympathies were naturally the other way, wrote from London: "The generality of the people are doting after Prelacy and the Service Book." Even the "Convention" Parliament, in the main, nominally Presbyterian, which so enthusiastically welcomed back the King, recognized the fact that the continuance of the Presbyterian system was impossible. "I know very few or none who desire it" (Presbyterianism), writes a well-informed observer at this time. "From any observation I can make, I find the Presbyterian cause wholly given up and lost." "A knowing minister told me this day," the same authority continues, "that if a synod should be called by the plurality of incumbents, they would infallibly carry Episcopacy. There are many nominal, few real, Presbyterians." This was the state of things ere the King had set foot on English soil. While this was so with the Presby-

* As early as 1654, December 18th, a number of Presbyterian ministers had petitioned Cromwell that they might have some state guarantee for the permanency of their livings, because of the disfavor in which they were regarded by their parishioners, in consequence of the fact, as they stated, that "We do not officiate by the Service Book, which divers of them so much doat upon, that we fear it would offend them more to be deprived of it than if the Bible were taken from them."—*Green's Short History*, p. 607.

terian party, the Independents had even less following. To the Independent, in whose intense, spiritual conception of the nature and essence of religion all forms or measures of Church organization seemed of necessity to cramp the freedom of the soul and interpose a barrier between man and God, "New Presbyterian" had always appeared little better than "old priest writ large." At length there came to this party on the overthrow of the Presbyterian polity and power by the hand of Cromwell, its single opportunity. Its hour of rule was brief, and it was summarily rejected by the great body of the English people. The revulsion of feeling on the part of the nation itself swept ruthlessly aside, in its longing for rest, for peace, for fixed institutions in Church and State, all forms of dissent as well as all theories of politics save, unfortunately, that of the right divine of Kings,—“the right divine” as it proved “to govern wrong.”

It was thus that the monarchy was restored without restrictions or conditions; and in the same temper, the mass of the people, in declaring for the Church, cared little or nothing for any change in ceremonies or any modification of the ecclesiastical policy which prevailed when Church and Crown were both overthrown.

In the words of Mr. Green, “Puritanism had

become hateful to the nation at large."* Politics was necessarily bound up with religion where the Church was established; and there was shown, both by Parliament and the people, a determination to undo not only the legislation of the period of the rebellion, but also to put out of sight every possible reminder of the religious thralldom which had made itself so distasteful to all men.†

* Short History, p. 604.

† A Puritan preacher in a discourse before the House of Commons, November 24th, 1647, bears this testimony to the unpopularity of Puritanism even when at the height of its power. He complains that the English people, "like Israel of old, preferred the garlick and onions of Egypt before the milk and honey of Canaan. So now a prelatical priest, with a superstitious service-book, is more desired, and would be better welcome to the generality of England, than the most learned, laborious, conscientious preacher, whether Presbyterian or Independent." "These poor simple creatures are mad after superstitious festivals, after unholy holidays." Baxter in his *Reformed Pastor* affords proof of the same feeling as existing in 1656. "The common people," he says, "tell us we bring up new customs." The forbidding of kneeling at the Holy Communion is particularly specified. The Independent divine, Dr. John Owen, in his sermon before the Parliament, October 30th, of the same year, acknowledges that "the body of the people is dark, and profane, and full of enmity against the remnant." The "profane multitude," he adds, are so attached to "the old paths, that it is yet impossible to keep the burden upright in them, whose guidance you are entrusted with." "Nothing almost will satisfy them but their old road of beggarly readers in every parish." (Works, 1825, XV., pp. 567, 574, 596.) John Canne, a Puritan writer, in 1653 confesses that "though tithes be taken away" and

It was thus that the period of the restoration became an age of reprisals. In the successive revolutions of the Commonwealth epoch, affecting as they did the fortunes of religion as well as of the State, the Presbyterians and the Independents had triumphed in turn. It was now the Church and Crown that were victorious. The clergy, either as a body or as individuals, appear to have taken little part in the shaping of public affairs. They seem to have been content with the restoration of the Church and with their individual reinstatement in the livings of which they had been cruelly and illegally dispossessed. It was not to be expected that they could easily, or at once, forget the past. They had been driven with every possible indignity from their cures and homes. Their means of support had been wrested from them on the most frivolous pretexts or on no pretext at all. They had been maligned, imprisoned, fined. The use of the Common Prayer had been denied them, and the supplications, which had soothed the sorrows and been the vehicle of the devotions, of successive generations of Christians, had been prescribed

diverted to the Presbyterian or Independent incumbents, "yet will the people do as they have done, go to these (sequestered) priests for marrying, burying, christenings, churchings, etc." *Vide* further citations of a similar import, in the *Church Quarterly Review* (English), XIV., p. 185.

by law. One could not use these familiar words of prayer either in the parish church or in his home, if fortunately, he had a home in which to pray. They had beheld the houses of God plundered, despoiled, destroyed by fanatic hands.*

And then to complete the Church's overthrow, they had seen the Primate of all England brought to the block after a travesty of the forms of law.

* Need we other language in which to tell the story of these days of sacrilege and spoliation than those of Bishop Joseph Hall—amiable, patient, conciliatory under provocation as few other men have been? It is thus that he describes the outrages of the Puritans at Norwich Cathedral which he witnessed with his own eyes, and which his heart deplored while his pen recorded the story in scathing words: "It is no other than tragical to relate the carriage of that furious sacrilege, whereof our eyes and ears were the sad witnesses. Lord, what work was here! What clattering of glasses! What beating down of walls! What tearing up of monuments! What pulling down of seats! What wresting out of irons and brass from the windows and graves! What defacing of arms! What demolishing of curious stone-work that had not any representation in the world, but only of the cost of the founder and skill of the mason! What tooting and piping upon the destroyed organ pipes! And what a hideous triumph on the market day before all the country when, in a kind of sacrilegious and profane procession, all the organ-pipes, vestments, both copes and surplices, together with the leaden cross which had been newly sawn down from over the Green Yard pulpit, and the service-books and the singing-books that could be had were carried to the fire in the public market-place! Neither was it any news upon the Guild day to have the Cathedral, now open on all sides, to be filled with musketeers waiting for the mayor's return, drinking and tobacconing as freely as if it had turned alehouse."

All this could not be forgotten by men who had been hounded by "triers" and "committees" for nearly a score of years; and who had known, with persecution, poverty and the loss of all things. Still it was neither the clergy nor convocation that initiated the measures of reprisal that marked this epoch. It was the Parliament and people of England who could not, and would not, condone the cruelties of the years of Puritan rule.

On the first of May, 1660, letters from King Charles II., dated from Breda in Holland, were presented to the Houses of Parliament with a declaration in which the monarch promised "a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom, and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of Parliament as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to us for the full granting that indulgence." *

* In the "Declaration" the subject of religion is treated in the following words :

"And because the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other ; which when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation, will be composed, or better understood ; we do declare a liberty to tender consciences ; and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in

The House of Commons received the king's communication with "so universal a joy" that, without "deferring" "one moment, and without one contradictory voice," it appointed a committee to express to his Majesty, "the great and joyful sense the house had of his gracious offers, and their humble and hearty thanks for the same." The Lords were not backward in echoing these same protestations of "their loyalty and duty to his Majesty." The Londoners "were likewise transported with the king's goodness toward them, and with the expressions of his royal clemency." The army, so lately the arbiter of the nation's fate and so pronounced in its adhesion to Independency, returned to "loyalty and duty" with "the loudest alacrity." The ringing of bells and the lighting of bonfires attested the general joy. The Commons in their reply to the king deprecated with "such a detestation and

question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of parliament, as upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us, for the full granting that indulgence." We quote this important paper from "Documents relating to the Settlement of the Church of England by the Act of Uniformity of 1662. With an Historical Introduction." London, 1662, pp. 2, 3. Consult also Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, book xvi., §§ 193-7, Oxford, 1849, vol. vi., pp. 232-4; Collier's Ecclesiastical History, viii., 382; Blunt's Reformation of the Church of England, ii., 550, and the secular histories.

abhorrency" as wants "words to express it," the "horrid act committed against the precious life of our late sovereign," claiming that it had been "only the contrivance and act of some few ambitious and bloody persons, and such others as by their influence were misled." On the 8th of May, the Lords and Commons met in Westminster Hall, and walked bare-headed into the palace yard where the heralds proclaimed the king. This was done at Whitehall, the scene of the late king's execution, and again at Temple-bar, and at the usual places in the city, amidst "acclamations, festivals, bells and bonfires." This, it must be remembered, was the action of a Parliament chosen while the king was still in exile and the nation was still under the rule of Independency. Two days after this proclamation of King Charles II., the House of Lords on an appointed occasion of thanksgiving, assembled at Westminster Abbey, where, we are told, a clergyman "in his formalities" used the Common Prayer.

Though it was already evident, in view of their own unpopularity and the turn of the tide of popular favor toward Crown and Church, that the Presbyterians were in no position to impose terms on the monarch in whose return they were seen to be so an inconsiderable a factor, still Reynolds, Calamy, Case, Manton and others of the Presbyterian divines, accompanied the depu-

tation sent by Parliament and the city of London to meet the king at the Hague. They were kindly received; but their requests that the use of the Common Prayer might not be revived in the king's chapel "entirely and formally," but only in part "with mixture of other good prayers;" and "that the use of the surplice by the king's chaplains might be discontinued" "because the sight of it would give great offence and scandal to the people," were promptly and peremptorily refused. The king, who well knew the temper of the nation, now thrilling with an universal joy at the expectation of his return, told his would-be mentors "that whilst he gave them liberty he would not have his own taken from him." He added with respect to the use of the surplice that "it had been always held a decent habit in the Church; constantly practised in England till these late ill times; that it had still been retained by him; and though he was bound for the present to tolerate much disorder and indecency in the exercise of God's worship, he would never in the least degree, by his own practice, discountenance the good old order of the Church, in which he had been bred."

Charles II. landed in England May 26th, 1660, the Eucharist having been celebrated on board the "Naseby," probably by Cosin, the king's domestic chaplain, at an early hour. On the fol-

lowing day the Prayer Book services were used at Canterbury Cathedral where the king returned thanks. As soon as the Court was settled at Whitehall, Divine Service was restored in the Chapel Royal agreeably to the Church's forms. The example of the Court was followed in numerous parish churches throughout the land; and, a little later, a gossipy chronicler records that the Common Prayer was used again in all but three of the colleges at Oxford. Thus, without legislative action of either Parliament or Crown, the Common Prayer was happily restored by the people of England themselves.

It is unnecessary—it would certainly be unprofitable—to follow in detail the tortuous succession of addresses, remonstrances, petitions, and discussions which in public, in private, and in print, followed close upon each other on the king's return. The address of Reynolds, Worth, and Calamy, presented to the king shortly after the restoration, may be regarded as a type of the various remonstrances against the Church and Common Prayer emanating from the Presbyterian party. Their divines assumed that there was no difference between Churchmen and the Presbyterians “in the doctrinal truths of the reformed religion and in the substantial parts of divine worship.” They admitted the existence of “various conceptions about the ancient form of

Church government and some particulars about Liturgy and ceremonies." That a liturgy, or form of prayer, was lawful was granted, "provided, that it be for the matter agreeable to the Word of God, and fitly suited to the nature of the several ordinances and necessities of the Church."

It must not be "too tedious in the whole." It must not be "composed of too short prayers, unmeet repetitions or responsals." It was urged that the liturgy should not be "dissonant from the liturgies of other reformed Churches." It must not be "too rigorously imposed, nor the minister so confined thereunto but that he may also make use of those gifts for prayer and exhortation which Christ hath given him for the service and edification of the Church."

In view of the many things in the Book of Common Prayer "justly offensive," and requiring "amendment," it was further urged, for the avoidance of "sad divisions and widening of breaches," that "some learned, godly and moderate divines of both persuasions" might be empowered to prepare a form of prayer "as much as may be in Scripture words," or "at least to revise and effectually reform the old," together with an addition or insertion of some other varying forms in Scripture phrase, to be used at the minister's choice." The Presbyterians desired that

kneeling at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper might not be required. They asked that the observance of "such holydays as are but of human institution" might not be imposed. They demanded that the use of the surplice, the making of the sign of the cross in baptism, and "bowing at the name of Jesus rather than at the name of Christ or Immanuel or other names" of our Lord, might be abolished.

It was evident from this address, which had the approval of the leading Presbyterians, that comprehension on the terms proposed was out of the question even if it was expected, or desired. Still the bishops consented to the request for a revision of the Prayer Book, conditioned on the king's assent. A "Royal Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs" appeared October 25th, 1660. By this declaration nothing was settled, although a greater measure of toleration was permitted for the time than could be expected at the final adjustment of the questions at issue.

This temporary indulgence was improved by the Church party in gaining over some of the Presbyterians whose churchly tendencies may have been stimulated by the offer of preferment. Reynolds, a leading spirit among them, accepted the bishopric of Norwich, and was consecrated on the feast of the Epiphany, January 6th, 1661. Others of the Presbyterians refused these ad-

vances, and both sides made ready for the approaching conference. The warrant for this assembly was issued on Lady-day, 1661; but the first meeting of the commissioners did not take place until the 15th of April. Twelve bishops, with the same number of Presbyterian divines, together with nine clerical assessors on each side, made up this historic commission which met at the Savoy Hospital, and is therefore known as the Savoy Conference. The Archbishop of York, Dr. Frewen; and the Bishops of London, Dr. Sheldon; Durham, Dr. Cosin; Lincoln, Dr. Sanderson; Worcester, Dr. Morley; and Chester, Dr. Walton, were the leading members of the Church Commission and of their associated priests, Drs. Heylin, Pearson, Sparrow, and Mr. Herbert Thorndike are best remembered. The Bishop of Norwich, Dr. Reynolds, led the Presbyterian party, of which the most prominent were Drs. Spurstow, Manton, Calamy and the celebrated Richard Baxter. Of their coadjutors, Drs. Bates and Lightfoot were the most noted.* The

* The commissioners continued in session from April 15th to the 24th of July. "The points debated," quaintly writes Izaak Walton in his *Life of Sanderson*, "were, I think, many; some affirmed to be truth and reason, some denied to be either; and these debates being then in words, proved to be so loose and perplexed as satisfied neither party. For some time that which had been affirmed was immediately forgot or denied, and so no satisfaction given to either party. But that the debate might become

Presbyterians were required to deliver their exceptions to the Prayer Book in writing, together with the additional forms they desired and whatever else they wished to see incorporated in the formularies of the Church.

The exceptions presented were followed, after a little delay, by the introduction of an entirely new directory of public service. This was "The Reformation of the Liturgy," by Richard Baxter, and was compiled in a fortnight. This *projet* was, with some slight alterations, adopted by the Presbyterian commissioners, and was presented to the bishops, with a "Petition for Peace" couched in language calculated to irritate and annoy Churchmen as well as to dissipate all thoughts of the possibility of an union. The Prayer Book, it was asserted by the Presbyterians, would only be tolerated if its use were not imposed by law. The Baxterian service, compiled in a fortnight, was to be allowed as an alternate or equivalent form to the Church's Prayer Book, which had been the growth of all the Christian centuries. Freedom from oaths, subscriptions, ceremonies was claimed in behalf of these "tender consciences;" and no ordina-

more useful, it was therefore resolved that, the day following, the desires and reasons of the Non-conformists should be given in writing and they in writing receive answers from the conforming party."

tion, whether absolute or conditional, was to be required from any who had already been set apart for the ministry by the Presbyterian pastors. To express the fulness of his indignation against the Episcopal order and the Book of Common Prayer, Baxter prepared a rejoinder to the Bishop's reply to the long series of Presbyterian objections. This rejoinder asserted that the Prayer Book was "a defective, disorderly and inconvenient mode of worship." The ground was taken that "to use it of choice would be our sin." Its "defects and disorders, and corruptions" make "the improving of it unlawful, when God might be more fitly served." It was claimed that the use of the Common Prayer by the common people was "a lazy taking up with a corpse, or image of devotion." It was urged that there were "many unfit expressions" in the Common Prayer Book; that "surplices and copes are indecent," and that "kneeling at the Lord's Table is disorderly." The free exercise of the gift of prayer in every part of public worship was demanded, and the omission of any portion of the appointed services at the minister's discretion. With such arrogant claims on the part of the Presbyterians, further discussion proved fruitless. It was evident that only by becoming thoroughly Presbyterian could the Church of England comprehend within its pale these captious men.

Convocation had now assembled. Its first duty was to prepare a form of prayer with thanksgiving for the 29th of May, the anniversary of the king's birth and happy restoration. Its next labor was to compile an office for the baptism of adults, rendered necessary from the great neglect of infant baptism during the rebellion. The Commons, impatient at the slow progress of the commissioners assembled at the Savoy, appointed a committee to prepare a bill "to provide for an effectual conformity to the liturgy of the Church for the time to come." * As early as July 9th, 1661, an act for uniformity passed the Commons. It was delayed by the Lords as premature till the following February.

The pettiness of the Presbyterian objections, and the presumption of the proposition of Baxter to make his hastily prepared "Reformation of the Liturgy" of equal authority and of alternate use with the Common Prayer Book, stimulated the efforts of convocation on its meeting, November 21st, 1661, after a four-months adjournment. To expedite the "reviewing, altering, and

* This action of Parliament was no novelty, for already three Acts of Uniformity had been passed since the Reformation. So necessary was legislation of this nature deemed by all parties, that even during the ascendancy of the Commonwealth, several ordinances of Parliament were enacted with a similar object in view, defining the mode of ordination to be adopted after the abolition of Episcopacy.

amending" of the Prayer Book, which had been assigned to convocation, the northern province appointed proxies or deputies to act for their lower house with the Convocation of Canterbury, while the upper house of the Convocation of York attended personally; thus bringing together on this business the representatives of the whole Church of England at one time. The House of Commons could with difficulty await the action of convocation, and the Lords were equally impatient. Murmurs arose against the king for an alleged want of zeal for the Church, so slow was the progress in settling the religious state of the land. The alterations were therefore dispatched with the greatest speed, and ere the Christmas holydays, and in fact, one month from the meeting of convocation after the adjournment, the book was presented to the king, approved and subscribed.

The changes agreed upon to conciliate the Presbyterians and the concessions made, were but few. In place of including under the general name of "Epistle" the portions of the Old Testament, or the Acts of the Apostles or the Revelation, read at times in the place of the Epistle, it was provided that the minister should say, "The portion of Scripture appointed for the Epistle." The various Epistles and Gospels were now taken from the new translation of the Holy Scriptures,

that of King James I. The reading of the exhortation to the Holy Communion was remanded to the Sunday or holyday preceding the celebration instead of the actual day of administration. The admirable collect of general thanksgiving, the composition of Bishop Reynolds, of Norwich, was added to the occasional prayers; and also the prayer for all conditions of men, by the use of which the Church of England for the first time made a direct supplication for the heathen a part of the daily office. The Prayer for the High Court of Parliament, the composition of the Archdeacon of Middlesex, Dr. Pory, which with slight modifications appears in our Prayer Book as a prayer for Congress, and the Collects for the Ember weeks, were also added. New Collects were introduced for Easter eve, for the sixth Sunday after Epiphany, for the third Sunday after Advent and for St. Stephen's day. Some of these new Collects at least, were the work of Sanderson, to whom the composition of the preface to the amended Prayer Book was committed.* The same gifted divine revised the

* Sanderson in his preface well summarizes the work so speedily and so successfully accomplished:

“Our general aim, therefore, in this undertaking was not to gratify this or that party in their unreasonable demands, but to do that which, to the best of our understandings, we conceived might most tend to the preservation of peace and unity in the Church; the procuring of reverence, and the exciting of piety and devotion

Service appointed to be used at sea. Important additions were made in prefixing to the Evensong the sentences, exhortation, confession, and absolution as at Matins. The office for Adult Baptism was added, as was also the first of the Anthems for Easter day, and the Epistle and Gospel for the sixth Sunday after the Epiphany. Additions were made to the Prayer for the Church Militant, to the Litany—a deprecation of rebellion and schism;—to the Prayer of Consecration, to the office of Infant Baptism, and to the Burial Service. In the Baptismal office the additions were, the question *Wilt thou keep God's holy will and commandments*, etc., and the collect "*Sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sin*," etc. The absolution was ordered to be said by the priest standing. The *Gloria Patri* was directed to be repeated after the divisions of the 119th Psalm. The people were required to stand at the reading of the Gospel and the saying of the Nicene Creed. Changes, in all amounting to about six hundred, show the care taken even in minute matters of detail to make complete and acceptable the Church's hallowed prayers.

The alterations in the office for the Holy Com-

in the public worship of God, and the cutting off occasion from them that seek occasion of cavil or quarrel against the liturgy of the Church."

munion, in the Offertory, in the Prayer for the Church Militant, and in the rubric respecting the disposition of the consecrated elements remaining at the close of a celebration, give evidence of an advance in doctrine as well as in ritual observance. The alms at the Eucharist were no longer to be "deposited in the poor-box," as the earlier books provide, but were now to be brought to the priest who was to "humbly present and place them on the Holy Table." At the celebration the priest was then to "place upon the table so much bread and wine as he shall think sufficient."

The insertion of the word "oblations" in the prayer for the Church Militant provided for the solemn dedication to their holy uses of these material offerings; while the rubric respecting the covering of the remains of the Sacramental Bread and Wine indicates the recognition of their sacred character. These changes were suggested by the Scotch Service Book of 1637, the language of the rubrics of the two books being substantially the same.

This review of the Prayer Book, accomplished in the brief space of a single month, could only have been effected through the use of the MS. suggestions of Bishops Andrews and Overall, and especially by the aid of this Bishop of Durham, Dr. Cosin, an eminent liturgiologist, whose labors for the perfecting of the review were indefati-

gable. The result, however attained, deserves our highest praise. The changes and additions, made before the strong, nervous English of the seventeenth century had been weakened by the rapid platitudes of a later date, blend harmoniously with the old, and make a whole singularly perfect and complete.

Prompt as the convocation appears to have been in accomplishing its revision, the general uneasiness that the settlement of the Church remained so long in abeyance became so strong that the King felt it incumbent upon him to address the Commons on this matter. His language is a testimony of the zeal of the lower house for the Church. He claimed an equal desire for the satisfactory adjustment of the affairs of the establishment and protested that he had "prejudice enough to those who did not love it." In the House of Peers the Lord Chancellor recommended that the Act of Uniformity should refer to the new Book which was presented to them on Lady-day, 1662. The Earl of Northumberland, representing the Presbyterian party, urged the reviving of the old Prayer Book and the Act of Uniformity of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

It was therefore evident that the alterations proposed in convocation were considered by the Presbyterians as making the Prayer Book more churchly in tone, and therefore less agreeable to

their notions. The opposition to the new Book arising from this source was easily overcome.

The Act of Uniformity occasioned much debate. The first important change from the old Act was the introduction of a clause in the House of Lords to the effect that no person should have the cure of souls, or ecclesiastical promotion of any kind, unless "in holy orders by Episcopal ordination." It was objected to this requirement that there were in the days of Queen Elizabeth and King James I., incumbents of benefices with orders derived from the foreign Protestant churches. To enact the proposed restrictive clause, it was urged, would reflect unwarrantably on the reformed continental churches.

Dean Field, it was claimed, in his great work *Of the Church*, had conceded the right of Presbyters in some cases to ordain. Bishop Morton, it was said, had admitted the right of the foreign churches to confer orders while refusing to recognize Presbyterian ordination in England. It was urged in reply that Parliament and the Church of England were now called upon to legislate for their own people and their own land. The case of the foreign Protestant churches was not in any way before them, neither did they propose to judge them. They held that Episcopacy was of the essence of Ordination where it was to be had; and as it was now to be had in England, they re-

quired Episcopal ordination. Very few, we are assured by Lord Clarendon, were in the end ejected from their benefices by the operation of this clause. It is evident that a large number of the non-Episcopal incumbents accepted the conditions imposed by the Act.* Baxter complains that the Bishops, with unnecessary strictness, insisted on a formal and expressed renunciation of their previous ordination on the part of Presbyterian incumbents who were willing to receive holy orders. It was thus that the Church of England placed herself once and for all time in a position antagonistic to that maintained by the various religious bodies of Protestants on the Continent, and avowed her acceptance of the historic Episcopate and the threefold ministry as opposed to Presbyterian parity or Independent democracy. By this act the Church of England emphasized her allegiance to apostolic order and Catholic and primitive usage; only thus could she have preserved her Catholicity.

The Act of Uniformity required subscription

* "Several hundreds" of the Puritan ministers, it is said, had been ordained by Thomas Sydserf, Bishop, first of Brechin and then of Galloway, in the year 1660, when it was seen that the tide was turning strongly in favor of Episcopacy. These incumbents legalized their position and qualified themselves to hold their livings. Among those so ordained, was Dr. John Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.—*Vide* "Notes and Queries," quoted in Blunt's Reformation, ii., 581.

declaring unfeigned assent and consent to all things contained in the Book of Common Prayer. This was obviously and fundamentally necessary, for if uniformity was to be secured, it was evident that some binding declaration must of necessity be made, and that, too, expressed with sufficient distinctness to prevent mental reservations or evasions of any kind. The oath of canonical obedience was required by the Act of Uniformity at institution to a benefice, and a promise reverently to obey "the ordinary and other chief ministers" was added to the ordination service. Although objections were made to these requirements, they could not, under the circumstances, be deemed either hard or oppressive.

Episcopal ordination; conformity to the rubrical directions of the Book of Common Prayer; assent to its doctrinal statements; and obedience to the canons of the Church were no more than the Church had fairly a right to ask of the loyal ministers of her communion, and no more than the State could reasonably exact as the conditions of an established national Church. It is to be regretted that there were other features of this Act confessedly and purposely retaliatory and vindictive. We cannot but confess with Baxter, though convinced that his course was largely answerable for this result, "that a weight more grievous than a thousand ceremonies was added

to the old Conformity." * "The bill was no sooner read in the Commons," says Lord Clarendon, "than every man according to his passion thought of adding something to it that might make it more grievous to somebody whom he did not love." The requirement that "all parsons, vicars, curates, lecturers, schoolmasters," etc., should subscribe a declaration "that it is not lawful *upon any pretence whatsoever*, to take arms against the King," and the further profession put into each one's mouth, "I do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those commissioned by his authority," was a blow at the liberty and rights of free-born Englishmen which cannot be condoned. The requirement that in addition to the disavowal on the part of all persons in holy orders, professors, masters, tutors or schoolmasters, that any obligation rested upon them from the oath known as "The Solemn League and Covenant," to "endeavor any change or alteration of government either in church or state;" and the further profession "that the same was in itself an unlawful oath, and imposed upon the subjects of the realm against the known laws and liberties of this kingdom," were, so far as the Presbyterians were concerned, attempts to compel them to condemn themselves, and swear to their

* Baxter's Autobiography, p. 384.

own disgrace. These amendments of the Commons were warmly opposed in the House of Lords, as we learn from Clarendon, "as a thing unnecessary, and which would widen the breach instead of closing up the wounds that had been made." Much may be pardoned to men, smarting with a sense of injuries, humiliations, losses, and oppression, in the first fervor of a long-restrained loyalty; but the changes in the original draft of the Act, introduced in the Commons and almost forced upon the Lords, were not in the interest of the comprehension of the Presbyterians in the Church, but were evidently intended to make the impending separation complete and final. It must be remembered that the Act was the work of Parliament, especially of the House of Commons. The clergy of the Church, however much they may have approved of the temper and express terms of the Act, were not concerned in framing or enacting the same. The Commons of England, the popular branch of the Parliament, in their very excess of loyalty and love for the old Church so pitilessly trodden under foot in the late unhappy times, purposely made the continuance of the Presbyterian party in the Church impossible; and settled both the policy and the polity of the establishment for all time to come. On May 19th the Act received the royal assent. It was to be operative on and after August 24th, St.

Bartholomew's day. "No sooner," writes Lord Clarendon, "was the act published, than all the Presbyterian ministers expressed their disapprobation of it with all the passion imaginable." They complained that the King had falsified the promises contained in his declaration from Breda, overlooking the fact that, through the astuteness of Clarendon, the Declaration had been carefully worded so as to refer all these matters to the settlement of Parliament. The Presbyterians cried out upon the Act as rivalling the greatest atrocities of Papal persecution, forgetful that the very ministers who refused or scrupled to conform, owed the positions they held to a similar proscription exercised by their own party in the day of its power.* It was the very party which

* Cromwell, irritated by some royalist movements in the country, on November 24th, 1655, issued a declaration which, in the words of Canon Perry, in his "*History of the Church of England*," ii., pp. 239, 240, "surpassed all the other Acts of these troublous times in intolerance and cruelty. By this it was provided that no person, after January 1, 1656, should keep in their houses and families, as chaplains or schoolmasters for the education of their children, any sequestered or ejected minister, fellow of a college or schoolmaster, nor permit any of their children to be taught by such, upon pain of being proceeded against. And that no person who hath been sequestered or ejected out of any benefice, college, or schools, for delinquency or scandal, should from and after the said January 1, keep any school, either public or private, nor preach in any public place, or at any private meeting, of any other persons than those of his own family; nor administer

had with pitiless fury smote with the sword of persecution which were now to experience the keen edge of that very sword. The virtues and ability of those who were to be dispossessed from

Baptism or the Lord's Supper, or marry any persons, or use the Book of Common Prayer, or the forms of prayer therein contained, upon pain that every person so offending, in any of the premises, shall be proceeded against," etc. Neal, the apologist for the Protector, says, "This was a severe and terrible order on the Episcopalians, and unjustifiable in itself." *Hist. of the Puritans*, iv., 122. Evelyn, in his *Diary*, thus notes the day of this proclamation: "So this was the mournfullest day that in my life I had seen, or the Church of England herself since the Reformation, to the great rejoicing of Papist and Presbyter." At the end of 1657, Evelyn writes in his *Diary* (ii., 126-7), "I went to London with my wife to celebrate Christmas-day: Mr. Gunning preaching on Micah, vii., verse 2. Sermon ended; as he was giving us the Holy Sacrament, the chapel was surrounded with soldiers, and all the communicants and assembly surprised and kept prisoners by them—some in the house, others carried away. In the afternoon came Colonel Whalley, Goffe, and others from Whitehall, to examine us one by one; some they committed to the marshall, some to prison. When I came before them, they took my name and abode, examined me why, contrary to an ordinance made that none should any longer observe the superstitious time of the Nativity (so esteemed by them), I durst offend, and particularly be at Common Prayers, which, they told me, was but the Mass in English. . . . Finding no color to detain me, they dismissed me with much pity of my ignorance. These were men of high flight and above ordinances, and spake spiteful things of our Lord's Nativity. As we went up to receive the Sacrament, the miscreants held their muskets against us as if they would have shot us at the altar, but yet suffering us to finish the office of Communion, as perhaps not having instructions what to do in case they found us in that action."

the places into which they had intruded were magnified. Their greatness as preachers, their ability as pastors, their saintliness of life, their learning, their devotion, their numbers, were dwelt upon; and the old charges were revived against those who were to take their place. The king was invoked to intervene between the Presbyterian incumbents and their impending loss of their livings through the passage of this Act.

But even the king could not set aside or suspend an Act of Parliament; and on St. Bartholomew's day a large number, variously estimated at from eight hundred to about eighteen hundred, Presbyterian and other ministers ceased to officiate in connection with the Church of England. The Church in Convocation, the State in Parliament, had required the acceptance of the Book of Common Prayer and had exacted of those who were to minister at the Church's altars that they should have Episcopal ordination. Unwilling to use the one—the Church's Form of Prayer, and refusing to accept the other—the ordination at the hands of Bishops, they were necessarily excluded from the establishment. It is evident that comprehension was impossible. Concessions were out of the question, when that was asked which would have destroyed both the uniformity of worship and the very being of the Church. The ejection of the Presbyterian incumbents was after

all but a reprisal. The places these men filled were earlier and rightfully occupied by others whom they had driven out without the slightest compunctions. If the Church of England was to exist at all, those who filled her pulpits and ministered at her altars must be loyal to her principles. This the Presbyterian party could not be, and their exclusion was simply a measure of self-preservation on the part of both Church and State.

We may well and wisely criticise and fault the miserable policy and worse legislation that followed the passage and enforcement of the Act of Uniformity. The refusal of toleration to the excluded ministers, many, most of whom were able, godly, conscientious men; the persecution, bitter, relentless and wholly unjustifiable, with which they were pursued in their efforts to follow the dictates of their consciences; the even harsher measures of the Conventicle Acts and Test Acts, though no act of the Church, and wholly the doing of the Parliament and Government, all cast opprobrium upon the rulers and indirectly made the Church odious. It was the policy of the Romish faction, aware of the secret sympathy of the voluptuous and irreligious king, to foment these troubles; to increase divisions; and to hinder all schemes for comprehension, so that a general toleration in which they would have a

share might become the policy of the State. Thus the complaints and demands of the dissentients and non-conformists were made the ground for extending to the Romanists the favor the King had so much at heart. Directly on the enforcement of the Act of Uniformity, the king, in reply to a petition from the ejected and silenced ministers, for toleration, issued his Declaration of December 26th, 1662, in which the monarch declared "that as for what concerns the penalties upon those who (living peaceably) do not conform to the Church of England through scruple, or tenderness of misguided conscience, but modestly and without scandal perform their devotions in their own way, we shall make it our special care as far as in us lies, without invading the freedom of Parliament, to incline their wisdom at the next approaching session, to concur with us in making some act for that purpose, as may enable us to exercise with more universal satisfaction that *power of dispensing which we conceive to be inherent in us.*" However much good and sensible men of all creeds may have wished for a general toleration, it was evident that any one who valued the rights and liberties of the English people could not admit for a moment the claim of the monarch to set aside a law of the realm by virtue of "a power of dispensing which he conceived to be inherent in himself." It is to

the great credit of the wiser and far-seeing of those who, by reason of their non-conformity, were now of necessity separatists from the Established Church that they received the royal Declaration but coldly. The House of Commons protested against this measure, and the king was forced to yield. A later proposal of the rapacious monarch to sell toleration that he might make capital for the court out of the unfortunate religious differences existing in the land, was defeated in the House of Lords by the Bishops and the zeal and eloquence of Clarendon. "From that time," records Clarendon, "the king never treated any of the Bishops with that respect as he had done formerly, and often spake of them too slightly."

While Parliament proceeded in its policy of coercion, the bold and effective ministrations of the Non-conformists during the plague in London, and their services when, in the great fire, eighty-nine London churches were consumed, gave them the sympathy and support of many who had sided with the Church and Crown.

Clarendon was now impeached and banished. The Duke of Buckingham, a libertine of unexampled profligacy, who rose to power on the overthrow of the Church's able, conscientious and uncorrupt friend, the great Clarendon, chose to favor the opponents of the Church and to use

them as allies in his political schemes. In 1667 the king recommended to Parliament the adoption of measures for the relief of the Non-conformists. The Commons replied by asking for the more rigorous execution of the penal laws. The king, annoyed by this opposition to his wishes, grew more and more exasperated against the Church, and redoubled his efforts to accomplish the schemes for the toleration of the Romanists he had so much at heart.

The rise of Buckingham and the policy of favoring the non-Conformists resulted in 1668 in an attempt at comprehension in which the hand of Richard Baxter was again visible. The terms offered by the Non-conformists differed but little from those tendered at the time of the conferences following the receipt of the royal declaration from Breda. Five years' persecution had not taught the Non-conformists to abate their pretensions or lessen their demands. They were still, in temper, in scrupulousness, and in insistence, what they were at the Savoy Conference. The scheme proposed to admit such as had received Presbyterian ordination during the disorders to the exercise of the ministry by the imposition of the Bishop's hands with this or a like form of words: "*Take thou authority to preach the Word of God and to minister the Sacraments in any congregation of the Church of England where thou*

shalt be lawfully appointed thereunto." The form of subscription was to be modified so as to be an approval of "the doctrines, worship, and government established in the Church of England, as containing all things necessary to salvation," and a promise not to bring in "any doctrine contrary to that which is so established," or to disturb the peace of the Church. Kneeling at the Eucharist and the use of the cross in Baptism, with bowing at the name of Jesus, were to be left indifferent, or taken away. In a case of a review of the Liturgy and Canons "*for the satisfaction of dissenters,*" the liturgy thus altered should be read in public by every one admitted to preach and his assent to the lawfulness of its use and his conformity to its requirements exacted. The Baptismal Service was to be so changed as not to assert the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. The Confirmation office was to be altered so as not to imply any special gift of grace as resulting from the laying on of hands. The Burial Service was no longer to express "a sure and certain hope" for the departed. The responsal prayers were to be omitted. The Pater Noster and Gloria Patri and the prayer "*Lord have mercy upon us*" were to be used but once at a single service. The Communion office was to be wholly omitted when there was no celebration. The Collects, Epistles, and Gospels were to be confined to certain holydays. The

Commination, the Visitation office, the Apocryphal Lessons, the Old Version of the Psalms, and the hymns in the Ordinal were to be omitted. Changes were to be made in the Catechism. Protestants were to have liberty for public worship in houses built by themselves. The names of such teachers and such congregations were to be registered. Legal penalties were to be removed; fines and parish duties under certain circumstances were retained. Providentially this scheme, in behalf of which the energies of the great Sir Matthew Hale were for a time enlisted, was defeated in the House of Commons. The failure of this proposed comprehension was followed by new vigor in the enforcement of the penal laws. The Non-conformists were now assailed in print by argument and abuse; and in 1670 the second Conventicle Act was passed, which, though enforcing milder penalties, was more harassing and vexatious than the Act which it superseded. Two years later the king issued his "Declaration of Indulgence" dated March 15th, 1672. This Declaration recognized the ascendancy of the Church, and exacted conformity from all its ministers. It suspended all the penal laws against all sorts of dissentients from the Church, granting full permission for the public meetings of all Protestant Dissenters, and for the Romish worship in private houses as well. Tol-

eration was now offered at the cost of abandoning the rightful supremacy of Parliament. The Presbyterians, by their leading divine, Dr. Manton, thanked the king. Dr. Owen, in behalf of the Independents, addressed the throne in language comparing the dissolute Charles II. to the King of heaven, since by "his power, wisdom and goodness he relieved the minds of his peaceable subjects from fear, distress, and distracting anxieties." The House of Commons, however, could not be cajoled nor deceived. Aware of the intrigues of the Court with Louis XIV. of France to destroy and divide Holland and to bring in again the Romish religion in England, the members of the Lower House, especially those from the country, sturdily opposed the insidious act of the king. After an interchange of protests and remonstrances, the king again yielded. A Test Act making it impossible for a Romanist to hold office was agreed to, and the Non-conformists were again left to the operation of the penal laws. An effort for their relief, originated in the Commons, was lost by some misunderstanding with the Lords; and schemes for their comprehension again proved futile. It must be remembered that in all these measures of severity against those who refused conformity, the Parliament was the originator, and zealous enforcer, of these harsh enactments. They were stated and defined by

statute law. The voice of public opinion supported them, and the great body of the nation believed in their necessity.* “It is the natural consequence of restrictive laws,” says the philosophical Hallam, “to aggravate the disaffection which has served as their pretext, and thus to create a necessity for a legislature that will not retrace its steps to pass still onward in the course of severity.”†

It was in consequence of the return of the Church and the nation to the Catholic principles of the Anglican Reformation that the final separation of the Puritan element of the establishment, first as Non-conformists and at length as Presbyterian dissenters, took place. Those who refused to accept the terms proposed in the Act of Uniformity and thus declined to conform to the laws and rule of the Church for a time maintained a position of non-conformity *in* the Church. The eight hundred or more ministers who vacated their livings on St. Bartholomew’s day were less than one-tenth of the clergy of the land. Some of these established separate congregations of Presbyterians, or Independents, or of some other of the sects growing out of the Puritan movement. Some possessed means of their own and

* *Vide* Canon Perry’s History of the Church of England, ii., 410, 411.

† Const. Hist., ii., 49.

lived in retirement on their private fortunes. Some returned to the avocations they had ere intruding themselves into the Church's pulpits, while a considerable number, either wholly or in part laying aside the ministerial character, continued in lay communion with the Church. In the interval between the passage of the Act of Uniformity and the beginning of the eighteenth century, the greater part of the Non-conformists who were not in sympathy with the principle of the Independents or Anabaptists became Presbyterian separatists. The intermediate position at first assumed between communion with the Church and occasional conformity and open and avowed separation could not be long maintained.

They soon ceased to be what they had been at the first, "The Reformist Faction in the Church of England," a title applied to them by the early Separatists, when they not only gathered congregations but instituted and ordained a new ministry distinctively Presbyterian. "Ordination was separation," as Lord Mansfield at a later day told Charles Wesley. But it was not till twelve years after the restoration of the Episcopate, and ten years after the passage of the Act of Uniformity, that a public Presbyterian Ordination took place in England. As the first ideal of the Puritan party was a reformation of the existing Church and not a withdrawal from that Church,

their subsequent ideal was an ultimate comprehension in the Church on terms recognizing the principles they had all along maintained. For years they hoped to force themselves back into the Church with a full toleration of all of their distinctive notions. They were already in the Church by virtue of their Baptism. Those of their divines who had Episcopal orders were confessedly in the ministry, and could at any time have exercised the same by conforming to the Church. But the resort to the exercise of Presbyterian ordination placed at once a stumbling-block and rock of offence between Presbyterianism and the Church. If ordination by Presbyters was valid the conferring of orders by the hands of Bishops became surplussage. The two principles involved were antagonistic. The separation of the Puritans from the Church as Presbyterian dissenters was now complete.

The Church of England at the period of the Restoration assumed a definite policy, the teaching of sad and bitter experiences. Compromise was no longer possible. The ordinal was phrased so as to make absolutely certain the exclusion of non-Episcopal orders. Episcopacy was restored in Scotland, where in fact it had never been lawfully disestablished, for the acts and ordinances of the rebel parliaments were declared void by the Act Recissory of 1661.

Measures were set on foot to send Bishops to the American colonies. The House of Commons went beyond Convocation and the Bishops in insisting on the use of the surplice, the signing of the cross in Baptism, bowing at the sacred Name, and other observances specially distasteful to the Puritan party. The requirement of Episcopal orders commended itself to the Commons and to Convocation as affording the most complete renunciation and disavowal of all other forms. It was thus that between the upper and nether mill-stones, the demand for Episcopal orders on the one hand and the severest Act of Uniformity on the other, Presbyterianism as a party in the Church was ground to powder. Those who refused to conform became first separatists and then dissenters. The subsequent establishment of the Kirk in Scotland on the ruins of the Church, and the passage of the Toleration Acts in England, do not affect the ecclesiastical position then and for all time assumed by the Church. To deny or flout the doctrine of the Apostolical succession—the necessity of the laying on of a Bishop's hands to valid ordination—so fully and at such a cost affirmed at the restoration, is to make the Church of England the most inconsistent and intolerant of all the religious bodies on earth. It is this belief in a threefold ministry and the historic Episcopate which alone

justified the existence of the "Catholic Reminder," of the ancient Church of Scotland, and is the *raison d'être* of the American Church, the child in lineal descent of the Churches both of Scotland and England. Apart from a belief in this apostolical succession, there can be no sin in schism; no possible check on the vagaries of that individualism and unrestricted right of association for religious purposes which are the fundamental principles of every separation past or present. This belief in an historic Episcopate, a threefold ministry, dating from the apostles' times, surrendered, we drift at once into the illusion of an invisible Church in which all sects, all creeds, all shades of belief or disbelief, struggle and contend with one another, not only antagonizing but refusing fellowship with each other and yet all claiming to form one body in Christ—the Church which is His Body. This assumption serves to "unchurch" Christianity itself.

Mindful of the lesson taught us in one of the latest utterances of the great Bishop of Durham, the scholarly and saintly Lightfoot, that in our yearnings or efforts for unity we must not for a moment surrender the backbone of the faith—the historic Episcopate; we find the lesson taught the Church of England amidst the convulsions of the great Rebellion and confirmed at the Restoration, one not to be forgotten or disregarded

at the present time. Unity and Comprehension will come, but they will come only after prayer. They cannot be obtained at the cost of the surrender of principles. We may not give up the *depositum* which is ours, the threefold historic ministry, any more than we can surrender or revise the faith once delivered to the saints. If we, as Churchmen, excel in the display of Christian virtues, in holiness, in devotion, in zeal, in loving ministries to all men, the Church of the living God will be in the days to come, as in the past, the refuge for those weary of individualism, sectism, strife; the home of the true Israel of God. Men will be drawn to her because God is with her. In holding fast the faith, in clinging to apostolic order, in keeping God's commandments, in exalting the Christ, in the display of charity and love exceeding that of others; the Church will be indeed the pillar and ground of the truth; the Church which is His Body whose fulness filleth all things. The gates of hell will not prevail against her; she shall have the victory which overcometh the world!

Ascendency of Erastianism and Latitudinarianism.

1. SECESSION OF THE NON-JURORS.
2. RISE OF THE BAPTISTS.
3. SPREAD OF INDEPENDENCY.

LECTURE II.

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ASCENDENCY OF ERASTIANISM AND LATITUDINARIANISM.

* THE period of history which has been assigned for my lecture seems to me to be one of the saddest in the history of the English Church, and to many people, one of the most uninteresting; yet it has its importance as being the seed time in which was sown among the wheat those tares which were to bring forth such evil fruit in the next century, the time in which there entered into Christ's Body, the Church, some of that poison which even now is circulating in her veins, hampering and hindering her work, and paralyzing her life.

The period of which I am to speak, the reigns of James II., William and Mary, and Anne, was a time of the introduction of new forces, which, while they were not so striking as the forces of the Reformation period, were scarcely less pow-

* This lecture, which was not delivered from MSS., is reproduced from a corrected stenographic report.

erful factors in producing that disastrous state of things with which the Church of England had to grapple fifty years ago.

The period is long, the events many, and therefore without further preamble I will proceed with my lecture, first briefly to sketch the principal events of the period, then to draw your attention to some of the results which came from those events.

James II., who came to the throne of England in 1685, was a Roman Catholic. At his accession he promised to protect and support the Church of England, stating that he regarded it as the bulwark of his throne, and so it was in a peculiar way, because but for the recognition of the hereditary divine right of kings by the Church, James II. would never have come to the throne. His policy at once gave the lie to his promise, it was all through his reign to affect the deepest concern for Dissenters, to exercise clemency and tolerance toward them, merely as an excuse for gaining the most tremendous concessions for the Roman Catholics. He at once restored the Mass with all the Roman Rites in the Chapel Royal, and at his coronation, for the first time in English History, the celebration of the Holy Eucharist was omitted by his orders.

His first attempt to break his promise to the Church was his assertion of the right of dispens-

ing penal laws in certain cases, and using this right in order to retain in the army Roman Catholic officers. The right was challenged at once, and the king succeeded in having it tried before a packed court, and it was decided in his favor. Immediately on gaining this decision he proceeded to fill the civil, military, and even the ecclesiastical offices with Roman Catholics, four Roman Catholic peers, and Petre, the Vice Provincial of the English Jesuits, were at once sworn into the Privy Council, John Massey, a Roman Catholic layman, was made Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and Samuel Parker, a man with Roman proclivities, was made Bishop of Oxford. Obadiah Walker, who verted to Rome, was allowed to celebrate the Roman Mass in the Chapel of New College, of which he was Master, and three Roman Catholic Bishops were received as Bishops "in partibus."

The result was a storm of indignation, and if James had not been possessed of more than usual obstinacy and dulness, he must have awakened to a sense of the rashness of his acts. The pulpits of London rang with denunciations of Romanism, and although the king had forbidden all controversial preaching, Dr. Sharp, the Rector of St. Giles, and afterward Archbishop of York, preached a striking sermon against the growth of Romanism in England. James ordered Comp-

ton, Bishop of London, to suspend him, but the Bishop refused to do so until Sharp had been properly tried and condemned. James had instituted a new Court, the Court of High Commission, with Jefferies as President, and summoned the Bishop to be tried by that Court. He was suspended during the whole of this reign.

The next great step, the next salient event, was two years after, in 1687, when James dared to go still further in putting forth on his own authority the Declaration of Indulgence, which was the absolute toleration of all religions in his dominions, and the dispensing all penal laws against Non-conformists. It was only a transparent device for filling all offices with Roman Catholics, but let me say in passing that while speaking of this Declaration of Indulgence in this manner, I do not for a moment wish to express any opinion against tolerance in the present day, but then it was claiming a power most dangerous and continually protested against by the Parliament of England. James, then, put forth this Declaration, that there was to be absolute toleration and equality; the result was that it produced strong indignation in the Church, and the greatest rejoicings among the Dissenters, with the exception of a few of the nobler ones among them, as Baxter, Bunyan, Howe, and Kiffin, who saw through this device, and pointed out to their

fellow Dissenters that James's act was no grace to them, but only a device for filling England with Romanists. Profiting, or rather encouraged by the rejoicings of the Dissenters, James next attacked the Universities; he sent a Benedictine monk to Cambridge, ordering that the degree of M.A. be conferred on him. The statutes of that University required that every one should take the oath of supremacy and obedience; as he could not take this, the Vice Chancellor refused to confer the Degree. For this, Dr. Pechell, the Vice Chancellor, with eight other members of the senate, amongst whom was Isaac Newton, the great mathematician, were summoned before the Court of High Commission, and Dr. Pechell was deprived of his office. Then James attacked Oxford. Magdalen College had just lost its President by death, and James nominated Anthony Farmer, a man of immoral character, and a Romanist. The statutes of the College required that the president should be a man of good character, and a member of either New College or Magdalen, so that in every way Farmer was ineligible. The Fellows then asked James to nominate some one else in place of Farmer, and James sent them the name of Parker Bishop of Oxford, who was equally ineligible. They thereupon elected one of their own body, Dr. Hough. They were visited, all the Fellows except two

were expelled from the College, and the College itself was turned into a Roman Catholic Seminary under Bonaventura Giffard, Bishop of Madura. James's next step was to issue an order to the Lord Lieutenants to furnish him with a list of Roman Catholics and Dissenters who might be given appointments in the Militia or on the Bench. More than half the Lord Lieutenants refused to comply with this order, and were promptly expelled from their office. All these events occupied but a very short time, about three years, then the crisis came with the memorable events of May and June, 1688; on May 4th, James re-issued the Declaration of Indulgences, but added to it the command that it should be read publicly at the Service in every Church in England, not only violating the Constitution, not only insulting the English Church by so doing, but requiring the English Clergy to make themselves the very heralds of schism. Perhaps there has never been a time when the Bishops of the Church of England have acted with more courage than they did then; hurriedly they had a meeting at Lambeth Palace, there was no time to gather all together, but those who were there drew up a petition against this outrage; seven of them signed it, and Ken and Trelawney themselves took it at once to James and presented it to him. This petition set forth that

the dispensing power claimed by James had been declared illegal again and again, and whether it were legal or not, the Church could certainly not be used as the instrument of promulgating it. The day came for the reading of the Declaration, four Incumbents of the city of London, and two hundred clergy throughout the rest of England were the only ones who obeyed, all the rest stood firm. James, thirsting for revenge and acting on the advice of his favorite counsellor, Jeffries, determined to make this the ground of an action for libel; the Bishops claiming their privilege as Peers, and refusing to enter into their recognizances, were sent to the Tower as prisoners. It was not deemed safe to send them through the streets of London, so they were sent in a barge by the Thames; the river banks were thronged with people and their whole passage was like a triumphal procession of royalty. And when on the 29th of June, they were brought to Westminster for trial, more than half of the nobility of England were present. James thought he had packed the Court so as to insure the conviction of the Bishops, and two judges and three jurors did indeed hold out until 10 o'clock the next morning; then the verdict was rendered "Not Guilty," and the result was such rejoicings as London had never seen, and which showed the feelings of the people, and that very day the letter inviting

William of Orange to come and take the throne, was sent. On the 5th of November, he landed at Torbay. James then called together the Bishops, whom he had systematically insulted and ill-treated, and promised amendment, but it was too late, and in less than a month afterward, James had abdicated the throne, and William of Orange was in full power.

Sancroft, then Archbishop of Canterbury, and the ultra-loyalist party, wished to treat James as intellectually incapable of reigning, and to make William Regent; for he was his son-in-law, his wife Mary being James's daughter, and heir to the throne. This William declined to accept, and Parliament put forth a Declaration of Rights which was the death-blow to absolute monarchism in England. By this, the Sovereignty was conferred on William and Mary, and all who held benefices, or academical offices, were required to take a new oath of allegiance to these Sovereigns. Many of the clergy who had no love for James, had great doubts as to whether this was justifiable. In March, two Bishops only had taken the oath, Sancroft with eight others had refused. Three of these died before the term of grace had expired, and on February 1st, the other six were deprived of their office. Of these six, five were among the immortal seven who had withstood James, and had been committed to the Tower,

Sancroft, Ken, Lloyd, Turner, and White. These now, together with Frampton, were relegated to poverty and disgrace, and above four hundred private clergy followed their fate. The greatest loss was Ken, by far the greatest man of that day, a man who in addition to great powers of mind and strength of character, had marvellous tact, and great courage, and would have been just the man to steer the Church through her difficulties. But he felt with the others that he could not take this oath, and therefore resigned his Bishopric, and retired into exile at Longleat.

Among the Clergy of the second order were Cosins, Leslie, Hickes, and Kettlewell; among the laymen the most prominent were Robert Nelson and Dodwell. Three of the non-juring Bishops started the Non-jurors' schism; they consecrated Hickes and Wagstaffe as Bishops of Thetford and Ipswich, and for about one hundred years the schism in England was kept alive. Ken refused to have anything to do with the starting of this schismatical party; it went on for a hundred years and then died out of its own accord. At the beginning of the reign of William, the two parties assumed the more definite character of High Church and Low Church, so you see we must go back to the date 1689 for those two names which are so familiar to us now. Macaulay says of the Low Church, that not more

than one-tenth of the Clergy belonged to this party, which was subdivided into the Puritanical or Low Church proper who stood exclusively aloof from all who differed from them, and the Broad Church, who wished to make the Church's forms broad enough to include all denominations except Romanists.

The new king, born a Presbyterian and called to be the Defender of a faith to which he was an alien, and to which all his tastes were opposed, found that amongst the High Church party he was really not recognized as king "de jure," and that his only support was from the Low and Broad Church parties and the Dissenters, therefore it was only natural that he should throw all his influence on their side. The secession of the Non-jurors had caused many vacancies in the Church; these he filled with Latitudinarian Bishops, with Burnet, his own Chaplain at their head, and he left all ecclesiastical preferment in their hands, so that for many years no good Churchmen were appointed to any important posts. Burnet soon had associated with him Tillotson. Burnet himself was an earnest, hard-working man, but very unfair and unsound in his views; his work on the Thirty-nine Articles Convocation tried to condemn. Tillotson was far worse than he. Macaulay says, Tillotson was accused of being an Arian, a Socinian, a Deist, an

Atheist, of denying eternal punishment, of never having been baptized, his parents having been Anabaptists, and a search in the Parish Registers having failed to find any record of his Baptism.

William III. in the beginning of his reign brought two bills into Parliament in favor of Dissenters, introducing them without consulting the Clergy. One was the Comprehension Bill for uniting their Majesties' Protestant subjects; the other was the Toleration Bill for leaving every one free to worship according to his own conscience. Besides these he tried to repeal the Test Act, so as to admit Dissenters to civil equality. The attempt to repeal the Test Act was at once rejected by the House of Lords, and the other the Commons dealt with pretty severely, refusing to discuss it and advising the king that such an Act should be deliberated on first by Convocation. Parliament passed the Toleration Bill, which repealed all the rigorous laws against Dissenters, but left their civil disabilities just as they were before, so that until 1828, no Dissenter was allowed to sit in the English Parliament. Then William under the advice of Tillotson, but against the advice of Burnet, summoned Convocation and proposed the alteration of the Prayer Book, the Canons, and the Ecclesiastical Laws. All the Broad Churchmen were unanimous in favor of a complete mutilation of the Prayer Book, so as to

make it unobjectionable to every class of Dissenters, but the Lower House, that is the Clergy who were not Bishops, refused to hear of it, so this attempt to mutilate the Prayer Book failed completely. On December 4th, the king sent a message to Convocation then assembled, speaking of his great regard and interest for the Protestant religion in general, and the Church of England in particular. The Upper House at once thanked him for his gracious message; the Lower House positively refused to consent to the word "Protestant," and struck it out. William then, finding his scheme a failure, and that he could not tamper with the Prayer Book, prorogued Convocation again and again, and it did not meet for ten years.

In these troublous times there was one ray of light, one good seed sown by five devout men, one priest and four laymen, I mean the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, founded in 1669, and then two years later, its offshoot the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; these two great societies whose usefulness and blessing to the Church it would be almost impossible to overrate were the work of a clergyman who had been sent to this country, to Maryland, as Commissary to the Bishop of London, Dr. Thomas Bray, and four laymen, Lord Guildford, Sir H. Mackworth, Colonel Colchester, and Justice Hook.

Now we come to the reign of Anne, which will occupy me but a few minutes. The Church's prospects seemed brighter on her accession in 1702, she was pious and liberal though of very inferior ability, indeed it was said that she was so dull there was only one person in England duller, and that was her husband, Prince George of Denmark. Fortunately with all her dulness she had one excellent adviser, Archbishop Sharp, who had been the first to utter a note of warning against James's attempts to Romanize the Church. In her reign the High Church party were again in the ascendency. Acts were passed even suppressing Dissenting Schools in 1713, but the rise of the Marlborough faction for a moment promised to bring back the old state of things, and the cry arose, The Church is in danger, culminating in a sermon of Dr. Henry Sacheverell's, preached before the Lord Mayor of London, in which he showed how the Church was "in perils among false brethren," i.e., the Broad Church Clergy. For this he was presented for trial, but the lenient sentence passed upon him, and the tremendous sympathy shown by the populace proved what a strong hold the High Church party had upon the affections of the people of England at that time.

There is one bright spot I must speak of in Anne's reign, the establishment of Queen Anne's

Bounty. In 1704, on her birthday, she sent a message to Parliament giving forever to the Church the first-fruits and tithes which the Crown had claimed for so many years, and requesting that it might be used for the increase of poor livings. At the time of the Crusades, in order to raise money for them, every Priest and Bishop presented to a benefice had to give the whole income of the first year to the Crusaders, and one-tenth of every year afterward. When the Crusades were over, and the people thought this could be given up, the pope found that the money was very useful to him, and so kept it until the reign of Henry VIII. When Henry threw off the supremacy of the pope, the clergy applied for it, but Henry found the money was useful also to him. Mary was the only English Sovereign who gave it back to the Church until Anne, and it was the most useful and generous act of her reign. At this time, it amounted to £17,000 sterling a year, and since has very much increased. Parliament passed an Act by which was established a Trust, still in existence, in the Church of England for the increase of the poorest livings. During this period, the Church had a galaxy of brilliant names of theological writers. There was Pearson, the Bishop of Chester, the writer of the well-known work on the Creed, Cosin, Bishop of Durham, to whom the Prayer Book owes so

much, Thorndike, Jeremy Taylor, Ken. Bull, Barrow and others.

When my subject was given me, there was added to it the Rise of the Baptists, and the Spread of Congregationalism. It does not exactly come within this period, but I will finish my lecture by saying a few words on these points.

First to take the Spread of the Independents. The Independents separated from the Church of England in the reign of Elizabeth, and at that time the term included all Puritans; afterward they were divided into Presbyterians, Baptists, and Independents. The peculiar tenets of the Independents are that every particular congregation of Christians is an independent body, which has within itself the right of electing and deposing its pastors, and of exercising discipline over its members, and that there ought to be no such organized unity among its congregations as may interfere with their perfect independence of each other, but every congregation should have the right to settle its faith, and to arrange all matters of discipline, and be entirely separate and independent of the body of the Church. The first person to put forth these principles was a man of the name of Robert Brown, a man of an arrogant spirit who quarrelled with congregation after congregation, and who soon found that Independency would not suit a man of his tempera-

ment, so he returned to the Church of England, and through the influence of Burleigh, a relation of his, was made rector of Thorp, a church in Northamptonshire, in 1590; he died in 1630. While he was not long with his people, yet he managed to affix his name to the sect which was known as the Brownists for a considerable time; but as founder, John Robinson, the head of the Community at Leyden, has a better claim; from this place both the English and American Independents originated. Of the history of the sect here, I need say nothing; you all know it; in England it has grown largely and has become one of the four principal sects.

We now come to the Rise of the Baptists; their distinctive principle is that of not recognizing Infant Baptism, of baptizing adults whether they have been baptized as infants or not, not baptizing them in order to make them the children of God, but as a sign that they have already become so; they separated from the Church on account of their belief that the baptism of infants was not valid, and then they taught that the baptism of adults was not necessary as it was not to be administered until after they had become the children of God. The origin of the Baptists is very obscure; one would probably have to go back to the fanatical rising in Germany under Münzer, so severely put down by the sword in the Peasant

War. We can trace them more clearly to the Dutch Anabaptists in England, who endeavored to ally themselves with the Mennonite Church in Holland; many of them went back to Holland in James I.'s reign and settled there. The English sect, which really only dates from 1616, spread rapidly after separating from the Independents, and in 1646, there were no less than forty-six congregations in London, and about this time the sect developed here under Roger Williams. About that time, a division took place among them with regard to the doctrine of Predestination; they divided themselves into two parties under the names of General and Particular Baptists, the first of whom adopted Arminian views, the second Calvinistic. People often mistake these names of General and Particular and forget that they refer only to their views of Predestination.

I speak more fully of the Baptists as an illustration of the marvellous powers of growth of the sect by continual schisms. These two parties were subdivided in 1770; the General Baptists separated into two bodies, the New and Old connection, the New reaffirming the Arminian views, the Old becoming Unitarians. The Particular Baptists, who really represented the sect of seceders from the Brownists in 1633, held Calvinistic views, and they split into two bodies,

called the Strict and Free Communion or Open and Close Communion Baptists. The Open Communion Baptists receive those who have been baptized in infancy; the Close Communion do not unless they are re-baptized as adults. The sect of the Baptists is one of the four largest sects in England, and a wonderful example of growth by schism; they have been split up more than any other sect; there are the Free Will Baptists, the Old School Baptists, the Seventh Day Baptists, the Se-Baptists, the Scottish Baptists, the Six Principle Baptists, the Hard Shell Baptists, the Tunkers, Campbellites, and any number of others.

I cannot conclude my lecture without a word to draw your attention to the causes which led to the great growth of Sectarianism in England on the one hand, and to the utter torpor of the English Church in the Hanoverian period on the other. The cause was simply the rise of those two principles, Erastianism and Latitudinarianism; the latter I need not define; we are too much troubled with it in this country in the present day not to know it thoroughly. Thank God, we are delivered from Erastianism by not having a State Church. Lieber or Erastus, a Physician and Professor of Theology at Heidelberg, writhing under the tyranny of Calvinism, put forth a religious system in which he stated that the spirit-

ual part of religion was a matter of individual conscience, while the external organization, such as the nomination and commission of Ministers was entirely a matter for the Civil Government, to settle. The most prominent follower of Erastianism in England was Hobbes, who went so far as to say that the Church had absolutely no authority other than that conferred on it by Act of Parliament or equivalent authority. We may trace the growth of Erastianism very clearly to two things at the accession of William III. One was of course the reaction from the Romanism, tyranny, and cruelty of James, and the other, that when William came to the throne, he found that all the most earnest Clergy, the most prominent Bishops, and learned Theologians looked on him as an intruder, and believed that the true King of England was still living. William himself was a Presbyterian, and while he conformed to some extent to the English Church, he was never formally received into it. He found the only way to govern the English Church was to take men who had no principles like Tillotson, and put them in the places of the Non-jurors. It is almost impossible to estimate the harm done by the Secession of the Non-jurors, while respecting their fidelity to conscience one cannot but regret that they left their Holy Mother the Church in the hands of aliens and enemies, and allowed

the entrance of that pernicious poison of Latitudinarianism, which has been the curse of England ever since. Those Broad Church Bishops by their worldly lives, and their entirely Erastian proclivities drove many earnest men into Dissent, who would probably have been the Church's most faithful children. When we consider the various phases through which the Church passed in these thirty years, the rapid transition from the Romanism of James to the Calvinism of William, and then look forward a little to the Lutheranism of the two Georges, we can only be surprised that there was any religion left in the Church at all.

But there is one bright thought of encouragement which we may draw from this troublous period of our Mother's history, and that is the wonderful likeness to the history of the whole Catholic Church of Christ, I mean in her vicissitudes, and in her trials, and in her marvellous powers of resurrection.

There is one glorious conviction which sweeps over us with overwhelming force, that a Church which has weathered so many storms must indeed be, like her master, Divine. I know no historical proof more splendid than that which her history shows, that that promise of her Master that the gates of hell shall not prevail has been fulfilled in her, for as we study her various fortunes, and see how the forces of evil not only hurled themselves

against her doors, but even broke in within the city, and then find, as we do to-day, her marvellous powers of resurrection, and see the energy of her leaders put forth to grapple with the problems and difficulties of to-day in a way which no other Church has done, we must indeed say that the gates of hell have not prevailed, and therefore that she is indeed Divine. And to what may we trace this? Surely we may find the explanation of the past and the hope of the future in that older promise of the Psalmist:

“God is our hope and strength; a very present help in trouble. Therefore will we not fear, though the earth be moved; and though the hills be carried into the midst of the sea.

“Though the waters thereof rage and swell; and though the mountains shake at the tempest of the same.

“The rivers of the flood thereof shall make glad the city of God; the Holy place of the tabernacle of the Most Highest.

“God is in the midst of Her, therefore shall She not be removed; God shall help Her, and that right early.

“The heathen make much ado, and the kingdoms are moved; but God hath showed His Voice, and the earth shall melt away.

“The Lord of Hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge.”

Methodism and the Evangelical
Movement.

LECTURE III.

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METHODISM AND THE EVANGELICAL MOVEMENT.

I.

METHODISM.

THE eighteenth century has not inaptly been characterized as the *sæculum obscurum* of the Renaissance and the Era of the Reformation. It will be enough to make mention here of the names of Voltaire in the opening, and of the notorious Tom Paine at the close of the century, to mark it as one of the darkest of the dark ages of the world's history. The extravagant claims put forth on the Continent of Europe, in defence of the unlimited right of private judgment, during the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, brought forth as their Nemesis in the eighteenth, the destructive criticism of the rationalistic school

of Germany, and the atheistic philosophy of the French Encyclopædists. It was Diderot and D'Alembert and the school of the Encyclopædia which sowed the dragon's teeth that during the Reign of Terror in 1789, sprung up into the armed men, so notorious as the chief actors in the awful drama of the French Revolution.

In England, Religion never had sunk to so low an ebb, as it did throughout the whole of the eighteenth century. Piety in the old and Roman meaning of the word, as synonymous with a spirit of tender and deferential regard for the three great fundamental institutions on which the whole fabric of human society—the Family, the Church, and the State—rests, fled away affrighted from the desecrated sanctuaries of the land, that it might weep beside the ashes of the noblest king that ever sat upon a throne; and in solitude, trim the lamp of devotion anew at the shrine of the saint and martyr William Land.

For a little while, it seemed as if under the fostering care of the good Queen Anne, Religion and the Church were speedily to revive. The people of England had learned by a sad and bitter experience, that the little finger of the Roundhead is capable of inflicting a wound, not less fatal to all the principles of civil and religious liberty, than that dealt by the mailed hand of Feudalism, when the sceptre of power was wielded

by the wearer of the triple crown. Right glad were they then, and well might they be, when the good old Mother Church of England was to be put back again into her ancient position of prerogative, as the recognized ally and supporter of the Crown.

The work to be accomplished, however, was scarcely half done. It was not the order and polity of the Church alone that needed to be restored and vindicated. No sooner were the outworks secured, than the Arian and Deistic controversies which form such a notable feature of the earlier half of the eighteenth century, began to run their course. It was natural that it should be so: and no effort upon the part of the Church could have prevented it. The Reformation had emphasized the subject side of Religion in opposition to the corporate and objective. Men were no longer content to accept creeds and dogmas, on the ground of authority; they wanted to believe them and to be convinced that they were true. The great intellectual fad of the time was the State of Nature. Rousseau was the hero of the hour. It was the order of the day to play shepherd and shepherdess; and to ply the needle in embroidering those wonderful pastoral scenes, which if wanting in the merit of perspective, have at least their virtue as relics of the past.

It has become the fashion in the nineteenth century, to speak in a slighting way of the defenders of the Faith in the eighteenth century. The fault, however, if fault there be, was not theirs but ours. The Analogy of Bishop Butler, to be sure, is not easy reading; nevertheless, it is worth the pains bestowed upon it. To form a correct estimate of the work which Butler did, we must seek to know who his opponents were and the nature of the objections he was called upon to refute. Rousseau and Bolingbroke and Tindal in that day, as men of science in our own day, set up nature as an idol for men to 'worship in the place of God. Butler after twenty years' labor bestowed upon it, proved that the course of nature, when rightly examined into, so far from being capable of being used as a witness *against* Christianity is entirely in its favor; so far from its being irrational as alleged by the Sceptic to believe in a God, it is shown to be irrational and contrary to the teachings of nature, not to believe in Him.

The same is to be said in defence of Waterland and Sherlock and Warburton, in their arguments in opposition to the Socinianism of the time. The Reformation broke with tradition and put reason and Scripture in its place. Valuable as the writings of Bull and Beveridge were found to be in the preceding century, in their appeals to the

Fathers as witnesses to the Catholic Faith, they had to be supplanted in the eighteenth century by arguments drawn from Scripture itself; Christianity had to be defended by the very same methods of argument which were used in the discussion and examination of any other subject of inquiry. The works of Waterland and Sherlock and Warburton accordingly are the great treasure house to which we must continually resort for the arguments needed to convince a gain-saying and a doubting world.

But whatever the inestimable value, in an intellectual point of view, of the labors of Butler and Waterland; however thankful we are called upon to be, that God, in His good providence, so ordered the course of this world, that men had time and opportunity given them, under the protection of the State, to devote themselves to study and reflection; it remains true, notwithstanding, that there was another work of a practical kind to be done; new agents needed to be called into the field to prosecute it. Controversy may be needful; nevertheless it is to be deplored, as hurtful to the spirit of Religion. Besides, a change had insensibly been going on in England which called for new efforts on the part of the Church. The England of Chaucer and Shakespeare was no more. Agricultural pursuits had given place to the commercial activities stimu-

lated by the demands of colonial enterprise. The population had almost doubled, since the settlement of the Church in the days of Elizabeth. Villages had grown into towns; whole districts, where scarcely a house was to be seen before, had become busy centres of life and industry, through the opening of coal mines. Meantime, the ancient division of Parishes had been allowed to remain unaltered; the masses of the people were left like sheep without a shepherd. It was at this crisis, and to meet the changed conditions of national life, that the movement known as Methodism began to run its course.

The wayfarer who led by fancy, or out of love of sport, has been induced to penetrate the region of country back of the mountain range where the Catskills breast the Hudson, will recall the mingled feeling of pleasure, wonder, and surprise with which after following the stream where he has been angling all the day, he reaches the head waters of the Delaware, and prepares to slake his thirst at the fountain, where out of the virgin rock the mighty river has its rise. It is with something of a kindred feeling one begins to trace, as we propose to do to-night, the rise of Methodism and the Evangelical Movement. I know of nothing in Church History, more charming in its way, than the simple letter of Charles

Wesley (then a student of Christ Church, Oxford) to his brother John in May of the year 1729, when he tells him that in the good Providence of God he has been the means of saving a fellow student from the danger of backsliding; and in order to keep him in the right way, had resolved to join him in the weekly reception of the Holy Communion. The two "Sacramentarians" as they were then called, going every Sunday to receive at the Altar of Christ Church, soon attracted notice; their moral courage became the rallying point, around which others gathered for the reading of the Greek Testament, and the performing of such works of mercy, as the visiting of prisoners upon Sunday afternoon. When John Wesley returned to Oxford, in the month of June, he spent two months with his brother Charles and passed almost every evening with the little Society which, because of the strict rule of life adopted, had already begun to be called by the name of Methodists. The four friends who made up the original "Holy Club," soon after increased to fifteen; and as they did so, they adopted a still stricter rule of life. Instead of meeting every Sunday evening, or upon two evenings of the week only, as at the first, they met every evening of the week, from six to nine. They made it their rule to fast on Wednesday and Friday and during Lent, and to re-

ceive the Holy Communion, at least once a week. They obligated themselves to repeat a collect every day at nine, at twelve, and at three; and had stated times for meditation and private prayer. They were diligent in self-examination, and subjected themselves to a weekly review with the purpose of amendment of life. It was their custom on Sundays to examine themselves on the "Love of God and simplicity;" and on Monday on the "Love of man" and their zeal in performing works of mercy and doing good. It is a charming picture of devotion and earnestness of life; and in all probability would have survived only to grace the walls of Oxford if John Wesley had not been fashioned in different mould from his younger brother Charles.

Let us try then at the outset to form some idea for ourselves of the man who "being dead yet speaketh;" and is recognized to-day as the leader of not less than twenty millions, who call themselves by his name. The portrait which Gambold, one of the original band of fifteen, gives of Wesley, tells the story of his life and at the same time reveals to us the secret of his marvellous power of organization and of his command over men. "Mr. John Wesley," Gambold says, "was always the chief manager, for which he was very fit; for he not only had more experience and learning than the rest, but he was

blest with such activity as to be always gaining ground, and such steadfastness that he lost none. What proposals he made to any were sure to charm them, because they saw him always the same. What supported this uniform vigor was the care he took to consider well of every affair before he engaged in it, making all his decisions in the fear of God, without passion, humor or self-confidence; for though he had naturally a very clear apprehension, yet his exact prudence depended more on humanity and singleness of heart. To this I may add that he had, I think, something of authority in his countenance, though, as he did not want address, he could soften by manner, and point it as occasion required. Yet he never assumed anything to himself above his companions. And any of them might speak their mind and their words were as strictly regarded by him as his were by them."

When at the University, Wesley was distinguished for the habits of order, which he maintained, in such a remarkable manner, even to the last days of his life. About the year 1728 he formed the habit of early rising which he kept up for sixty years. His custom was to rise at four o'clock, and his day of eighteen hours was so carefully husbanded, that very few remnants of it were ever lost. Every day of the week, we are told, had its own prescribed course of reading ;

the nature and extent of it bear witness to the breadth and culture of the man. Monday and Tuesday were devoted to the Greek and Latin classics; Wednesday to Logic and Ethics; Thursday to Hebrew and Arabic; Friday to Metaphysics and Natural Philosophy; Saturday to Oratory and Poetry; Sunday to Divinity. It was his rule when he entered upon public life (once he recognized the nature of his vocation), to travel seven or eight hundred miles every two months, whatever the state of the weather; and never less than four thousand five hundred miles in the course of the year. The time spent in travelling was never wasted. "History, Poetry and Philosophy," he tells us, he "read on horseback, having other employments at other times." His means were as carefully husbanded as his time. It had been the rule of the members of the Club, to give away each year, whatever remained after they had made provision for their own necessities, to be used in the release of such as were confined for small debts, and to purchase books, and medicines, and other things needed for their work. Out of an income of thirty pounds a year Wesley lived on twenty-eight, and gave away two. The next year, when he received sixty pounds, he gave thirty-two away in charity. By limiting his expenses the next two years to the same sum, he was able to give away, out of

the amount he received from his pupils, sixty-two pounds the third year; and ninety-two the fourth. As the straw floating upon the surface indicates the way the current flows, so it is from these tokens of self-discipline and strict rules of life, we are able to understand why *Methodism*, at the early stage of its history, received its name; as well as the secret of the influence, which before the death of its founder, made the Methodists one of the best organized religious communities, next to that founded by Ignatius Loyola, in the Christian world.

The next stage in Wesley's career is of peculiar interest to ourselves, for it brought him at an early stage of our national history, the year 1735, to our shores; and gave him an interest in the progress of Christianity in the Western world, which continued to increase up to the day of his death. George II., by a royal charter issued in June, 1732, created the narrow strip of country between the Savannah River on the North, and the Alabama on the South, into a British Colony. The territory was vested in twenty-one Trustees, among whom was Dr. Burton, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, with Colonel (afterward General) Oglethorpe as Chief. Oglethorpe, when a member of Parliament, had been led to interest himself greatly in the suffering of small debtors;

and had obtained a Committee of Inquiry into the condition of prison life in England at that time. The result was a grant of £10,000 by Parliament, to found a colony where the released debtors might secure a living and a home. The Bank of England added £10,000 more; in all £36,000 were raised to carry out the project. The two Wesleys, at the solicitation of Dr. Burton and Colonel Oglethorpe, were induced to give themselves to the work. On the 5th of February, 1736, the "Simmonds" sailed into the Savannah River; next morning at eight, the emigrants set foot on American soil, when Wesley and his friends knelt down with the Governor, to render thanks for their escape from the dangers of the sea. Wesley, before the end of the month, began his work at Savannah and arranged for a weekly celebration of the Holy Communion and daily Morning and Evening Prayer. His Sundays were full of work. He read prayers in English from five to half-past six; at nine in Italian to a few baudois; from half-past ten to half-past twelve, he had an English service, with sermon and celebration of the Holy Communion; at one he held a French service; at two he instructed the children; at three he read evening prayers; on Saturdays he read prayers in French and German in two neighboring settlements. It is a notable work, and yet it came to an ignoble and inglorious end.

Were your lecturer a Mediæval chronicler, instead of one who is compelled to look at the events of history in the matter-of-fact sort of way with which we are accustomed to deal with them in the nineteenth century, he might tell you of the assault of the great enemy, through the medium of the sex, whose simplicity and innocence make it the readier instrument of his devices. I prefer, however, to tell the unvarnished tale, that I may the better point the moral, which it is so well calculated to teach. Governor Oglethorpe, who had learned upon the voyage to look with favor upon Wesley, thought it might temper his enthusiasm, if he could secure a fit person to share with him the responsibilities of life. It was, as all such attempts are likely to prove, the occasion of endless confusion and strife, which ended in Wesley resigning his charge and returning to England with the feeling that his usefulness in America was at an end forever.

But the lesson was not without its value to the enthusiastic young mission Priest. Among the stories of the Old Testament, there is none, which beneath its outward investure hides a deeper truth than the touching incident of Jacob wrestling all night with the Angel of the Covenant, and carrying about with him ever after, as a token of his victory, the sinew that shrank. Blessed are they, who, in struggling with the Angel which at some

time or other in life, is sure to meet them in the way, have in clouds and darkness, wrestled on, until they have seen revealed the Face Divine, and ever after with a deep sense of lowliness and abasement, have learned to lean continually upon an arm stronger than their own! Wesley went back to England a sadder and a wiser man. He claimed himself that he rose out of the depths of his humiliation a changed and converted man, with new views of life and a spirit of deeper consecration to the service of his Lord and Master; and I firmly believe it.

We have followed Wesley to America; we are now to see him in another and a different sphere, the second stage of preparation for his great work. At the close of the seventeenth century, and the beginning of the eighteenth, there arose everywhere throughout Europe, a spirit of revolt against the prevailing secularization of life and the doctrinal strife produced by the Babel of sects which sprang out of the Reformation. In France, Madame Guyon talked to men about a mysterious peace in God; while Fenelon incurred the reproach of teaching something like the Oriental doctrine of Nirwana, in the way in which he insisted upon the notion of self-sacrifice and absorption in the love of God. In Italy Molinos, in his *Spiritual Guide*, represents silence in God

as the end and all of spiritual being. Spener and Angelus Silesius in Germany were men of mystical longing, who dwelt upon the *unitive*, and disparaged the illuminative way of life. But the most noted of these schools of mystical thought was that known to us under the name of Moravians founded by Count Zinzendorf at the village of Hernhut on the borders of Bohemia. It was on his way out to America that Wesley met with one of the disciples of Zinzendorf—Peter Bohler—whose teaching influenced all his after-life. It was from Bohler the Moravian, that Wesley imbibed the doctrine of instantaneous conversion and an accompanying assurance of salvation, which he so strenuously insisted upon in after-life. Three weeks after his conversion (as he believed it to be), Wesley sailed from Gravesend to Rotterdam, and spent some two weeks at Hernhut. He returned to London on September the 16th, 1738. On the Sunday after he says: “I began to declare in my own country the glad tidings of salvation, preaching three times and afterward expounding the Scripture to a large company in the Minories.”

Bristol was the centre of Wesley's earliest labors. “It was at Kingswood, near Bristol, that the power of Methodism to stir the masses first began to be felt. The colliers of that district assembled to the number of twenty thousand to

hear Wesley and Whitfield preach. As the movement grew, efforts were made to suppress it, but still the work went on. In London as in Bristol the preaching of the two brothers was attended by tens of thousands. They appealed to the waifs and strays of society; they accompanied criminals to the foot of the gallows; they exhorted and prayed with them; thousands upon thousands whom the emasculated State Church failed to influence were smitten, and after a crisis of spiritual agony, they arose from the ground in an altered frame of mind, eager to announce to others their newly-found assurance of peace with God."

The Rebellion of 1745 caused an intense political excitement in England, which was used by the enemies of Methodism to work it harm. Wesley was called a Papist in disguise; his itinerant preachers were imprisoned as vagabonds. Some were pelted with eggshells filled with blood. It was at such times that the moral courage of Wesley came to light. He was never moved or disturbed. His eloquence and serene composure scarcely ever failed to allay the storm, and in the end secure for him the good will of his enemies.

As the work extended new societies were formed in all parts of the country. It was found impossible for one man to keep alive the fire which had been kindled throughout England and Wales.

Lay preachers were called to assist in the work, and sent forth in appointed circuits with instructions that they were not to hold service or prayer-meetings in or about the time of the regular church services. They were not to wear a distinctive dress, and they were to receive the Sacraments at the hand of the ordained Ministers of the Church of England. In 1743 Wesley published the first edition of his rules for the Societies. In the whole work of organization Wesley displayed consummate ability. "Other men," it has been said, "were equal in their power to awaken enthusiasm, but Wesley's skill in directing, sustaining and regulating the enthusiasm which he had aroused was such as no man surpassed. By classes, local societies, circuits and districts, under the general administration of a conference, of which he was the president, the strictest discipline in detail was carried out under the central Government. The whole Methodist connection was brought to one focus under his presiding authority."

There is one episode in the life of our Divine Master, which is pregnant with warning to all those who would enter upon his service in the work of the Ministry. I refer to the rebuke which he gave to his blessed mother when she allowed her pride in her beloved Son to tempt Him to abuse His divine mission, by turning it

into an occasion of vulgar display, at the marriage feast at Cana of Galilee. The acts of our Lord's life, I need hardly remind you, were of the nature of sacramental acts; and have a significance for all time and conditions of life. The influence of woman has been great for good, and it has not been altogether without a mixture of evil in her relation to the Church. The first great schism which rent the Church of North Africa was in great measure due to Lucilla, a woman of great wealth and influence in her day and generation. Had it not been for the influence of Constantia—the wife of Constantine—Arius would never have returned to power after his condemnation at the Council of Nice; and Athanasius would have been allowed to remain in permanent possession of his See. It was under the influence and advice of his mother, at an earlier stage of his life in 1743, that Wesley in the year 1760 took a step which was opposed to all the avowed principles of his earlier life, when he allowed three preachers at Norwich to begin the administration of the Holy Communion on the plea of necessity in their Chapels. It was a fatal step which once taken could never be retraced. Charles Wesley remonstrated, but in vain. "If other preachers follow their examples," he says, "not only separation but confusion must follow. My soul abhors the thought of separating from the Church

of England." The fatal step toward division once taken, another soon followed on the same plea of necessity. On the 2d of September, 1784, Wesley set apart Thomas Coke, a Presbyter of the Church of England, to the position of a Superintendent and commended him to the American people in a pastoral letter: "To all whom these presents shall come, John Wesley, late Fellow of Lincoln College in Oxford, Presbyter of the Church of England, sendeth greeting: Whereas many of the people in the Southern branches of North America, who desire to continue under my care and *still adhere to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England*, are greatly distressed for want of Ministers to administer the Sacrament of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, according to the usage of the same Church; and whereas there does not seem to be any other way of supplying them with Ministers: Know All Men, that I, John Wesley, think myself to be providentially called at this time to set apart some person for the work of the Ministry in America. And therefore, under the protection of Almighty God, and with a single eye to his glory, I have this day set apart as Superintendent by the laying on of my hands and prayer, being assisted by other ordained Ministers, Thomas Coke, Doctor of Civil Law, a Presbyter of the Church of England, and a man whom I judge to be qualified for that good work.

And I do hereby recommend him to all whom it may concern, as a fit person to preside over the flock of Christ. In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty four. John Wesley."

Taking this letter for all that it is worth, it is plain upon the face of it that Wesley when he set apart Coke did not think he was consecrating him to be a Bishop, but was making a Superintendent. It is admitted that he had ceased by this time, after reading lord King's "Account of the Primitive Church," to regard Bishops as a third order of the Ministry; he took them to be a different grade of the same order. It was for this reason he did not make Coke a Bishop but a "Superintendent." This is plain from his own letter to Coke when following his own example he proposed to consecrate Asbury a Bishop. "How can you, how dare you," he writes to Asbury, "suffer yourself to be called a Bishop? I shudder, I start at the very thought. Men may call me a knave or a fool, a rascal or a scoundrel, and I am content, but they shall never call me a Bishop. For my sake, for God's sake, for Christ's sake, put an end to all this. Let the Presbyterians do what they please, but let the Methodists know their calling better." The truth

is that when Wesley allowed himself to depart from the whole principle of his life in ordaining Coke in 1784, and went one step farther when he set apart three Ministers for Scotland three years after, in 1787, he had ceased to be responsible for either his words or his acts. It is impossible on any received principle of interpretation to reconcile his contradictory acts, or to account for them on any other theory, than that suggested by his intimate friend Alexander Knox, that he had fallen into senility, and in his old age had become the ready prey of persons who used him for their own ambitious and selfish ends. Henceforth the Church of England had to regard the Methodist Connection not as a loyal and persecuted guild, but as an antagonistic and growing Sect.

II.

THE EVANGELICAL MOVEMENT.

The rationalism of the eighteenth century and the disposition shown by the Latitudinarians of the time to compromise divine truth, by substituting the religion of nature for the principles of revealed religion, brought on a reaction in a certain class of earnest, but narrow minds, unable to appreciate, as Butler did, the philosophic teaching of men like Henry More and Herbert

of Cherbury, who were in reality contending for the truth, that "the Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world," is the same as that which in the person of Christ became incarnate for us men and for our salvation. It is assuredly a great truth, and on its reception depends the principle—a principle which underlies as we have seen Butler's great argument—that nature and grace are not necessarily in conflict one with another; as well as that it is possible to pass insensibly, as it were, from the one state to the other without violent struggle, or even conscious antagonism of life. This I need hardly say, apart from the fact that the Lord Jesus became a little child, is the great argument for infant Baptism, and for that higher view of the religious life which Wesley duly appreciated, yet did not wholly grasp, as a life of peace and love and joy and gladness, for in it every contradiction is reconciled, every discord set to harmony, every taste finds its proper satisfaction and delight, since it is the life of the pure in heart who see God in all things and all things in God. This was a view of the religious life to which the "Serious Clergy" of the Church, as they were called in opposition to the fox-hunting and easy-going Church and State parson of the day, were utterly and entirely opposed. To them the world was only full of evil and wholly given over to

destruction; they saw nothing good in human nature, and set their face like a flint against amusements and recreation of every kind. They practised self-denial, and were almost ascetic in their manner of life. They separated religion altogether from common life, and insisted upon conversion as the only sure mark of the life of God in the soul. They had much in common with Methodism, and when Whitfield separated from the companion of his early days, because of his leaning toward Calvinism, they found in him the leader for which they had long been seeking.

The early life of Whitfield, like that of Wesley, gives the key to his vocation; and furnishes the criterion by which we are to measure his influence and his work. Unlike Wesley, who was the son of a clergyman and whose infant years were watched over by a pious mother with jealous care, Whitfield was an innkeeper's son, and had the misfortune to lose his father, the landlord of Bell Inn, Gloucester, two years after his birth. His mother did all she could to keep the boy away from the business of the tavern, but he was "froward from his mother's womb" as he tells us; his youth, like that of Francis of Assisi, was a curious mixture of good and evil in which religion and love of mischief seemed to wrestle for

the mastery. He emptied his mother's till, but like Francis, who stole cloth to build a church, he gave the money to the poor. He secreted his mother's books, but they were religious books to be used for purposes of devotion. When sent to school, he spent his time in reading dramatic writers, composed plays, and excelled in acting. Weary of school discipline he returned to tavern life, put on the "blue apron" and became, to use his own expression, "a professed and common drawer for a year and a half," during which time, he tells us, he read Kern's "Manual for Winchester Scholars," and Thomas a Kempis on the *De Imitatione Christi*. When his mother married again, Whitfield quarrelled with his sister-in-law, prepared for college and went to Oxford at the age of eighteen, with literally a penny in his pocket. At Oxford, Whitfield struggled against the temptations of the flesh, and practised great mortification and self-denial. He would spend the night walking in the storm in the meadows of Christ Church, prostrating himself on the cold ground, and fasting to excess during Lent; "he would expose himself to the cold till his hands began to blacken, and so emaciated his body through abstinence as to be scarcely able to walk upstairs to his room," so that for seven weeks he labored under a dangerous illness. We have here all the elements for a great revival preacher.

After taking his degree at Oxford, Whitfield returned to Gloucester; he was so highly thought of by Bishop Benson that he broke through the ordinary rule, and ordained him at twenty-one. When Whitfield preached his first sermon at the Church of St. Mary-le-Crypt, complaint was made to Bishop Benson that he drove fifteen persons mad. Whitfield, like Wesley, in entering upon his work consecrated himself to the Mission field. After Wesley had abandoned Georgia, Whitfield entered upon his labors there and crossed the Atlantic not less than fourteen times in the prosecution of his work. It may interest you and will serve to give, at least, an insight into the religious life of the time, if I give a couple of extracts from his Journal, where he makes mention of visiting our own city of New York: "Sunday, May 4th (1739). Preached by seven in the morning in the Meeting-House. Went to the *English Church* twice; and preached in the evening to about 8,000, *in the field*. After sermon, numbers came to me, giving God thanks for what they had heard, and brought several large contributions for poor orphans. Blessed be God, by public collections and private donations, I have received upward of £300 since I came hither. Monday, May 5th. Prayed with and parted in an affectionate manner from my dear New York friends last night. About ten

o'clock took boat with my worthy host, Mr. Noble and some others, and came by midnight to *Stratton Island*,* where we were kindly received by one of our Lord's true disciples." The second extract is dated "Sunday, November 2d" (when on his way home to England). "Preached this morning with same freedom, but was much dejected before the evening sermon. For nearly half an hour before I left Mr. Noble's house I could only lie before the Lord and say, 'I was a miserable sinner, and wondered that He would be gracious to such a wretch.' As I went to meeting I grew weaker, and when I came into the pulpit I could have chosen to be silent rather than to speak. But after I had begun the whole congregation was alarmed. Crying, weeping, and wailing were to be heard in every corner and many to be seen falling into the arms of their friends. My own soul was carried out till I could scarce speak any more. A sense of God's goodness overwhelmed me. As I went down a woman said: 'Come and see what God has done for me to-night.' After I came home I threw myself on the bed and in an awful silence, admired the infinite freeness, sovereignty, and condescension of the Love of God. Divine consolations flowed in

* I find the entry of *Stratton Island* twice in his Journals, although *Staten Island* is afterward mentioned.

upon me so fast that my frail tabernacle was scarce able to sustain them. Monday, November 3d. Preached both morning and afternoon, and perceived the congregations still increase. There was a great and gracious meeting among the people both times. Near an hundred and ten pound currency were collected for the orphans, and in the evening many came and took an affectionate leave. About seven we took boat; reached Staten Island about ten, where a dear Christian friend received me gladly. We solaced ourselves by singing and praying, and about midnight retired to sleep, still longing for that time when we should sleep no more. Lord keep me from a sinful and too eager longing after death, but help me patiently till our charge come. Amen and Amen."

Whitfield found in the Calvinism of America a far more congenial atmosphere than Wesley did, and he succeeded where the nobler spirit failed. When he returned to England he joined Wesley for a time, as we have seen, in field preaching and gathered around him as many as 20,000 at a time. It is said that his eloquence was such and his elocution so perfect that he could easily be heard by 30,000 persons. The break which sooner or later was bound to come between men so differently constituted by birth, spiritual experience, and culture, took place in the year 1740, when

Methodism separated into two hostile and opposing camps, known respectively as the Wesleyan and the Calvinistic Methodists.

Among the curious myths of the Middle Ages is that of Pope Joanna, who is said to have worn the triple crown for two years and a half about the middle of the ninth century. No one has ever discovered, so far as I know, how the story originated, nor has any satisfactory explanation ever been given of what the myth was intended to teach. The most plausible explanation would seem to be that the myth is the outgrowth of the fact that there was a time known as the Pornocracy, when the Roman See was under the control of two women who made popes at their pleasures and elevated men to the papal throne, not for their intellectual or theological or political attainments, but for their good looks. I do not know whether Whitfield was remarkable in this particular (I am inclined to think he was not), but if not handsome, he was eloquent, and capable of exciting emotion and stirring up the heart to its very lowest depths; and so he got complete possession of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, who by her husband's death in 1766 came into a large fortune, and compensated Whitfield for the loss of his early friends, John and Charles Wesley, by making him her chaplain and giving him

the freedom of her house as a place of rest on his visits to England from America.

Whitfield now became the leader of the Calvinistic Methodists, but his frequent absences in America practically gave the leadership into the hands of the Countess of Huntingdon. The countess, of whom it is said that she gave away £100,000 in charity, built what she called "Free Churches" for the advocacy of the peculiar tenets of Calvinism, filling them with such clergymen of the Church as were willing to obey her will. As the widow of an earl she claimed the right to appoint her chaplain, whom she bribed by the offer of a black silk scarf, the badge of a nobleman's chaplain, to be worn over the gown. These men were called "Lady Huntingdon's Preachers." "In the dress of a female," Hone says, "she exercised all the authority of a pope; everything was Lady Huntingdon. The congregationalists who worshipped in her chapels were known as Lady Huntingdon's Connection: the Ministers who officiated were Preachers in Lady Huntingdon's Connection." For the training of her preachers she set up a college in 1768 (called, of course, Lady Huntingdon's college) at Trevecca, in South Wales (afterward removed to Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire), over which she placed Fletcher of Madeley, a post which he held for only three years. When such men as Romaine and Venn

and Toplady and others found that "My Lady" was inclined to set up a dissenting Communion under her own guidance, they left her service and became the leaders of the so-called "Evangelical" or "Low Church" party in the Church of England. The countess was strongly opposed to Wesley. Whitfield, who was of low birth, could thank her for her amazing condescension in patronizing him; Wesley, who came of noble stock, could never condescend to this. The imperious temper of each, and their love of command, gained for them respectively the sobriquet of "Pope John" and "Pope Joan."

When Methodism in its Armenian and Calvinistic forms thus became the religion of a Communion existing outside of the Church of England, the form which it took within the Church's pale was known as Evangelicalism.

The Evangelicals felt that the great requirement of the day was a fervent heart-stirring enthusiasm. "They cared little for doctrine," Mr. Hore says, "except their own interpretation of it. They set little store by Apostolical Succession and disparaged Sacraments. Regeneration they confounded with Conversion. So they exalted preaching as a means for the extension of the Church. Among the Masses they placed the pulpit before the Altar. Their first leaders were

earnest, if narrow-minded, men. William Grimshaw (Mad Grimshaw as they called him), who became perpetual curate of Haworth, found the neighboring parishes so neglected that he considered himself forced to become an "itinerant;" he itineranted Lancashire, Cheshire, and Derbyshire; and, without asking the permission of the Parochial Clergy, preached in their parishes from five and twenty to thirty sermons a week. John Beveridge (1716-1793) known as the Vicar of Everton, was, like Grimshaw, also an "itinerant." He preached through Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and many parts of Hertfordshire, Essex, and Sussex. Beveridge was a strong advocate of clerical celibacy. "No trap," he used to say, "was so mischievous to the field preacher as wedlock; it is laid for him at every corner." When he once thought of looking out for a Jezebel himself (to use his own expression) he was saved by reading Jeremiah XVI., 2. His Epitaph in Everton Churchyard was written by himself. It reads as follows:

"Reader—

Art thou born again?

No salvation without a new birth.

I was born in sin February, 1714,

Remained ignorant of my fallen state till 1730,

Lived proudly in Faith and Works till 1754,

Was admitted to Everton Vicarage 1751;

Fled to Jesus alone for refuge 1756,

Fell asleep in Christ, January 22, 1793."

One of the most remarkable of the Evangelicals of the earlier school was Rowland Hill, the famous incumbent of Surrey Chapel. Even when an undergraduate at Elm College he took to itinerant preaching, much to the disgust of his father, Sir Rowland Hill. He was refused ordination by not less than six Bishops on account of his eccentric habits. As a preacher he was almost as popular as Whitfield had been before him. Sheridan described his sermons as red-hot from the heart. He was more of a Dissenter than a Churchman, and was one of the most influential of the Evangelicals in awakening the slumbering spirit of the age. He was the author of the beautiful hymn, "We sing his love who once was slain."

It is a wonderful example, I think, of the way in which things seemingly contrary are made to minister to lower ends in the Scheme of Divine Providence, to note how Armenianism and Calvinism in the Wesleyan and Evangelical movements were used to influence the Masses at this time. Wesley, by his emotional teaching, appealed to the affections and the heart. Whitfield, on the contrary, sought to rouse the conscience and excite men's fears. Where, as in the case of the uneducated, people are under the control of the lower nature, *pleasure and pain, fear and love*, become the preponderating moral motives

by which they must be aroused and influenced. Some yield more readily to the one class of emotions, while there are others who must be dealt with through the fear of judgment.

The Evangelicals of the latter half of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century were a different class of men from these earlier enthusiasts, and were, for fifty years, a power in the Church. Toward the end of the century the wave of Infidelity which had been gradually accumulating force from the beginning burst forth into a tide of avowed and foul-mouthed Atheism all over Europe. The French Revolution woke England from its slumbers, showing, as it did, only too plainly to what a fearful degradation of sin and misery a Nation may fall when the Church is asleep and her voice silenced. It is to the honor of the Evangelical party at this grave crisis of the world's history that it aroused England to a sense of its dangers and responsibilities; and to it the Nation, humanly speaking, owed its salvation. There is no name on the roll of the Church's Saints and Martyrs which has a sweeter sound than the name of Henry Martyn. It ranks next to that of St. Francis Xavier as amongst the greatest of the heroes of missionary enterprise. Nor may we omit to mention the names of William Wilberforce and

Hannah More. Wilberforce was the ideal of what a Church statesman ought to be. The inheritor of a large fortune left him by his uncle, Wilberforce devoted a fourth, and not infrequently a third part to works of charity. His name will endure as long as time shall last, for his untiring efforts in the abolition of the slave trade. It was mainly through his influence that the English Parliament passed the Acts of 1787 and 1807, the one to mitigate the sufferings of slaves on board ship, the other to do away with the traffic altogether. The same year in which he died (1834)—but after his decease—the law was enacted that slavery “should be utterly and forever abolished and unlawful throughout the British Colonies, possessions and plantations abroad.” It was through the agency of Wilberforce that Henry Martyn became the pioneer missionary of the East India Company’s trading stations, and that a Bishop and three Archdeacons were sent to Calcutta in 1814.

Hannah More was the daughter of a village schoolmaster. The condition of things existing in the Parish of Wiveliscombe, where she was born, enlisted her sympathies at an early age in the education of the poor and the creation of a popular literature. The parson of the Parish, she tells us, was drunk six days in the week, and on Sunday was “frequently prevented from preach-

ing by two black eyes honestly earned in fighting." There was only one Bible to be found in the Parish, and that was used to support a flower pot; out of 108 children not one could tell who made them.

We may say of the later Evangelical school—of which the principal, amongst the clergy, were the two Milners, Newton, Scott, Cecil and Simeon; and among the laity, Wilberforce, Hannah More, the two Thorntons of Clapham, Lords Dartmouth and Teignmouth—that they were filled with the spirit of self-denial and were foremost in all good works. Calvinistic in their sympathies, they stood apart from the Methodists. If they gave no prominent place to the Sacraments and ordinances of the Church, they had no sympathy, on the other hand, with the mysticism of the Moravians and William Law. Opposing, as they did, "the relaxation of subscription from their love of the Articles," as Mr. Perry puts it, "and all tampering with the Prayer Book from their fear of Arian and Unitarian tendencies among the great men, they helped to preserve uninjured those formularies which in fact condemned many of their doctrines, but which they loved for the devout tone which breathed in them. By their sermons they exterminated, in great measure, the dregs of Socinianism and the vapid moral platitudes which had been too much in vogue for ser-

mons; and setting forth to their hearers the grand truths of the Gospel, they excited a fervor in them which rivalled, if it did not surpass, the earnestness of the Wesleyans. Under their influence Sunday-schools began everywhere to be established. An organization was commenced, which, under the name of the Church Missionary Society, has done a vast work in carrying the Gospel to the heathen. Other societies provided cheap Bibles and tracts; and numerous agencies were put in operation, all conducing to the reaction against indifferent irreligion which this century has witnessed."

We hear it often said that the Church of England should have fostered, as her own, the followers of Wesley, and ought never to have allowed them to depart from her bosom. But surely this is to confound things that differ. The Prophet is not, by virtue of his calling, a Priest, nor is a Priest necessarily a Prophet. No one knew this better than John Wesley, as he has shown in his sermon of 1789. Ever since the day the sons of Eli made themselves vile, and Ahab, the King of Israel, put Baal in the place of God, the calling of the prophet has been recognized as the agency which God in His wise providence makes use from time to time to reform the Church and the State. It was so under the Old Testa-

ment, and we meet with the same thing again under the New. John the Baptist was a Prophet, or, as we might call him nowadays, a Monk. He drank no wine; his meat was locusts and wild honey; he was clothed in camel's hair; he wore a leathern girdle about his loins. He describes himself as a voice crying in the wilderness, a preacher of repentance to the men of his day and generation. Comparing himself with Christ, he says, I am from beneath; He is from above; I must decrease; He must increase. In other words, he recognized his call to do a temporary but necessary work in preparing the way for One who came to establish His kingdom in the world. The ages all along, in like manner, we see the calling of the prophet working together with the function of the Priest. The religious orders of the Middle Ages were similar in character to the Schools of the Prophets established by Samuel. They cultivated sacred learning; they were skilled in the art of music; they kept alive the spirit of true devotion when the world took possession of the Church. The work which Wesley and Whitfield did was no new thing in England. The condition of England in the thirteenth century was very much the same as in the early part of the eighteenth century. "The care of the flock was committed to ravening wolves; the Pastors of the Church," Archbishop Grostete says, "were

stained with every sort of crime." To remedy this Grostete called to his aid the preaching friars to help him relieve the bodily spiritual necessities of the poor. When the friars ceased to do their work, Wycliffe raised an order of his own, who were to travel through the land preaching in the churches when favored by the clergy, if not in the highways and market places. Had Wesley been content to allow his principles to leaven the Church of England, without yielding to the temptation which John the Baptist resisted, of making himself the head of a corporate body, he would have conferred an inestimable blessing on the English Church, and made for himself an imperishable name.

No one could have been treated with more consideration than Wesley was both by his Bishop (the learned Dr. Gibson) and by Archbishop Potter, whose own daughter identified herself closely with his work. There was no essential difference between the work of Wesley and the work undertaken by the leaders of the Evangelical party. They, too, were Mission preachers; they, too, sought to revive the languid spirit of religion by the more frequent use of hymns as aids to devotion. The decline and ultimate disappearance of the Evangelical party in our own day is a proof that all such movements are in their very nature transitory and temporary in

their character. When it is asked: Why has the party which was once so powerful come to naught? the answer is that their death has been the Church's gain; the principles they advocated have done their work in leavening the lives of individual men like Wilberforce without injury to the corporate character of the Church.

It is pleasant, and not unprofitable at times, to steal away from the noise and turmoil of a great city like our own, to the seclusion of some mountain retreat, where we may take a fresh look at the world in which we live and move, and still our souls to hear the voice which speaks to us in the silence that reigns unbroken above the clash of forces in the earth below. It may chance that on some rare day in summer you have been so fortunate as to see that sight, never to be forgotten by the lover of nature, when looking out upon the valley where the Queen of Rivers—the noble Hudson—tracks its course, the sun, like a bridegroom coming to run his race, has looked forth upon the face of nature wrapped in clouds; as he woos her by his touch and fondles her with the kisses of his mouth, fold after fold, the veil has lifted and with the fresh roses of the morning on her cheek, and the dancing ripples of many waters reflected in her laugh, the earth and all that is therein has responded to the call of her

sovereign lord, and begun again to run with him her course: or in the depth of winter, it may be, when the sky is without a cloud, and the still mountain air gives new vigor to the blood that has been coursing so languidly in your veins, you have been tempted, as I have been, to penetrate the gorge where the Katerskill plunges down to the ravine below. Winter has breathed upon the rushing waters, and they have stood still, congealed as they have felt his touch; but deep hid, within the icy column that rises from below, the stream, welling out from the virgin rock above, still makes its presence known, trickling on its way, and spending the idle hours of the long winter day in weaving for itself a network of filmy vapors wherewith to cover its maiden modesty, at the unexpected gaze of the unlooked-for guest: so, too, is it in that other world we call in our stereotyped phrase the Church. There are times when the clouds for a little while seem to hide from view the vision of the face we love so well. Our mother has grown weary on her watch, and she has sought rest in sleep. The night seems long and our hearts are filled with fear. We hear strange voices in the air; there are notes of strife and confusion, and the wrangling of men engaged in bitter controversy demanding entrance from without, until it seems as if the morning would never break. But wait until He comes,

who has the right to wake the sleeper with the kisses of His mouth. Then the long-suspended action of the heart will begin to beat again; and the sleeper will open wide her arms to receive to her embrace once more her Lover and her Lord. Winter as well as summer, it is of faith to believe, does its own appointed work; be sure of this—that need there is of the biting frost as well as the summer breeze, but the stream which flows out of the living Rock, if for a while congealed, will soon break lose again, and its waters, when released, will once more make glad the City of our God. Amen.

**“The Oxford Movement and the
Catholic Revival.”**



LECTURE IV.

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THE OXFORD MOVEMENT AND THE CATHOLIC REVIVAL.

FROM every point of view, whether sympathetic, hostile, or indifferent, the Catholic Revival will appear upon the pages of history as the distinguishing religious movement of the nineteenth century, great in itself and great in relation to its environment.

It arose in the midst of one of those ever-recurring periods when naturalistic forces rise in rebellion against the supernatural character of the Christian Church and Creeds. The deathly vapors of that miasm of unbelief which had its rise in the first French revolution were still hanging over England.

It largely cleared the atmosphere, and has grown in power and pervasiveness, in direct and indirect influence, till the whole world has felt its vital strength. It has accentuated its principles with more distinctness, while, on one hand, the Protestant bodies have been learning to pro-

nounce their sixteenth-century shibboleths with diminished emphasis, and while, on the other hand, the Roman Catholic Church has been surrendering itself in faith and morals to an autocracy to which the English Catholic Church did in the sixteenth century offer successful resistance.

Such a movement arrests attention and commands scrutiny.

It is the purpose of this lecture to attempt such careful study of this movement as may be practicable within limits so very brief and inadequate. While from the lecturer's point of view he cannot choose but render to its principles the most absolute allegiance of head and heart, he has no conscious purpose to consider it as a partisan, or in a spirit of intolerance toward those who may not share that allegiance.

I.

The present student of this movement possesses *many advantages*, as compared with those which existed while it was yet in its adolescence. We behold it in its maturity, and can apply to it the law of perspective, seeing its present status in relation to the process of its development.

It is now no longer the dream of a few, dawning upon their minds in dim and mysterious light, and to be hedged about as by a *disciplina arcani*. It is the inspiration of millions.

Nursed in the cloisters of a University, as an esoteric devotion to ancient truths, it has passed out into the common life of the Church, and influenced, if not moulded, it beyond the power of figures to compute or of words to describe.

The predictions of its earlier devotees have been fulfilled. The forebodings of its antagonists have not been realized.

If its influence has been incalculable upon those who surrender themselves without compromise or hesitation to its claims upon the reason and the heart, it has shown itself very forceful as an indirect influence over those who have opposed, as well as over such as have refused to follow on to its proper conclusions.

The era of deaf and peremptory hostility was succeeded by the era of enforced toleration; and now we have reached the era in which wise men are thinking it to be well to lay aside all thumb-screws and all thought of them (save as a bad memory!), to recognize the honest loyalty of all who claim to be honestly loyal to the Church, the Creeds, and the Bible, and to turn their attention somewhat more manfully to common enemies. This is assuredly a great change. Contrast this year of grace with that in which "The Christian Year" of John Keble was publicly burned at Oxford, or that in which a puritanic insanity precipitated the "surplice riot," in London.

There is, further, now observable in the minds of scholarly men of all kinds, a disposition to consider this movement with equipoise of judgment—a thing quite impossible in the earlier days when the atmosphere was lurid with passion and prejudice.*

The movement now has no leaders as it had when it first disturbed the deathly sleep of an Erastian establishment. No coterie represents it or controls its development. No mighty name invites our adjuration as once when William George Ward flippantly said, "My creed is very short: *Credo in Newmannum*."† Its true exponents of the early days have shared the common lot and gone to gaze with unclouded vision upon the glories of Jerusalem the Golden. Even Pusey, easily chief among them all, "faithful found among the faithless," sleeps in Christ; and

* "It is a sign of the times that the modern reformation in the English Church should at last be recognized by German Protestant scholars as by far the most significant and epoch-making event in the ecclesiastical history of our century. . . . A critical and historical account of 'Tractarianism' more unacceptable to the British Church Association can hardly be conceived, and if the orators of that school could be suspected of studying German Protestant theology, they would probably write down Dr. Schoell as a Jesuit in disguise."—Church Quarterly Review, January, 1886, on Dr. Schoell's exhaustive article, "Traktarianismus," in *Real-Encyclopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, vol. xv., pp. 738-791, Leipsic, 1885.

† William George Ward and the Oxford Movement, 1889, p. 33.

let it ever be remembered that he, knowing whose minister he was, and understanding the movement better than some who wished to assert lordly control over it, never assumed to be anything but a humble follower of the truth.* With all the inextinguishable vitality of a cause that is best represented by the Name that is above every name, it has passed wholly out of the sphere of representative mastership.

Another advantage which the present student of this movement enjoys is the perception of the ever-strengthening tenacity with which it has adhered to the Communion in which it took its rise, in the teeth of the supreme argument, the *slogan* of its enemies, the untiringly iterated charge that it tended to conduct the Anglican Church back to the allegiance of Rome. As the appeal to prejudice, that argument was almost overwhelming in its effects. The enlightened and reasonable prejudice of those who understood the astounding pertinacity of the power which had

* In 1870, he wrote these words: "I never was a party leader, I never acted on any system. My name was first used to designate those of us who gave themselves to revive the teaching of forgotten truth and piety, because I first had occasion to write on baptismal regeneration; but it was by opponents and not confederates. We should have thought it a note against us to have deserved any party name, or to have been anything but followers of Jesus, the disciples of the Church, the sons and pupils of the Great Fathers whom he raised up in her."

never given over its purpose to bind the Church back to its obedience would naturally regard such a movement with suspicion, for a time at least. Ignorant prejudice would catch up and repeat the outcry with tireless vociferation. It had great force with those extremists, mostly without the Church's pale, who held the old position of Cartwright (1573) "that we may not in any wise or on any consideration retain in the Church *anything that hath been abused* under the pope." *

This dismal echo of a voice that sought in the reign of Elizabeth to do away with Bishops as being of "antichrist's brood," and the authority of the Fathers as being "the summoning of hell," reminds us of the antiquity of that style of argument. To Calvin, the Prayer-Book was "the dregs of popery." To Beza, the English clergy were an imitation of "Baal's priests in their square caps, tippets, and such sort of equipages." The lineal descendants of these worthies never gave up their supreme argument. It has been their war-cry through three centuries of controversy.

But three centuries of controversy have shown the invincible tenacity to the Church of the principles of the Catholic Revival. Had the original impetus of this Movement, beginning about 1833,

* The Life and Acts of Archbishop Whitgift, Strype, London, 1718, p. 50.

been toward Rome, it could not have maintained itself in an incongenial clime so long and in the face of such virulence of opposition. If the cause for which they were willing to suffer had not supplied them with motives for heroism, you had scarcely seen priests glad to languish in English prisons for its sake when they might have opened the door of the jail and the door of the Church of Rome at the same moment, by one word of submission. The real question at issue is, does the Church of Rome stand as the sole exponent of the Catholic religion of Christ in Western Christendom? is the Church of England a modern institution or has she an organic life more venerable than the foundations of St. Martin's of Canterbury or the ruined arches of Iona? has she preserved the continuity of the ages in her line of bishops? does she mean *herself* when she professes her faith in the Holy Catholic Church? In other words, is she what the Puritans sought to make her, or what she was through all time? Shall Cartwright's principle prevail, or the principle enunciated in her own canons of 1603—"the abuse of a thing doth not take away the lawful use of it?" "Nay," adds the canon, "so far was it from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and reject the Churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or any such like Churches, in all things which they held and prac-

tised, that it doth with reverence retain those ceremonies which do neither endamage the Church of God, nor offend the minds of sober men; and only departed from them in those particular points wherein they were fallen both from themselves in their ancient integrity and from the apostolical Churches, which were their first founders."*

What is this but the statement in other words of Hooker's emphatic declaration? "To say that in nothing they may be followed which are of the Church of Rome, were violent and extreme. Some things they do in that they are men; in that they are wise and Christian men some things; some things in that they are men misled and blinded with error. As far as they follow reason and truth, we fear not to tread the self-same steps wherein they have gone and be their followers. When Rome keepeth that which is ancients and better—others whom we much more affect leaving it for newer and changing it for worse—we had rather follow the perfections of them whom we like not than in defects resemble those whom we love."†

But there have been defections to Rome, since the Revival began! Undoubtedly. But are these fairly chargeable to the Revival?

* Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, 1603, xxx.

† Hooker, Book v., ch. xxxiii., sec. 1.

Since the beginning of the Reformation there has ever been a leakage to Rome, not only in England but on the Continent. In Germany it has attained colossal proportions. In England during the present century some of the most eminent names in the list of perverts were added before 1833, and many of those which have been since added were wholly unacquainted with the underlying principles of the Catholic Revival. Thoroughly Protestant in their training, they were unconscious of any refuge save Rome from the incongenial atmosphere which they could no longer breathe. Perverts from the ranks of those who have been under the influence of the Revival have always denied and disparaged the principles of that Revival as their justification, plainly showing how impossible their defection would have been, had they remained loyal to those principles. It must be noted, too, that the most of those who have gone to Rome were originally of the Puritan and Calvinistic type, as for example Newman, Simeon, Wilberforce, Manning, and Faber. The excessive force of their recoil from the theology of their youth is enough to account for their secession.

But the original promoters of the Oxford Movement declared it to be part of their purpose to prevent such losses. Just think what an exodus would have ensued if the Erastians had succeeded

in abolishing the foundations of the English Church and turning it into an "*omnium gatherum*" moral society! It was to save the Church from such a fate that her Catholicity was reasserted and defended against all gainsayers within and without. Those brave and noble men preferred to rescue the Church from her dangers not by appeals to prejudice and panic shouts of "No Popery," but by proclaiming her to be truly Catholic, and by living up to the Creeds, the Services, and the Sacraments, without fear of consequences; and they saved thousands from submission to Rome. They brought to light the hidden treasures of the Prayer-Book because (wrote the editor of the *Tracts* in 1834) "nothing but these neglected doctrines faithfully preached will repress that extension of popery for which the ever-multiplying divisions of the religious world are too clearly preparing the way." The Revival has largely neutralized that tendency. *It will have much to do hereafter on that line.*

The movement has ministered much disappointment in two opposite quarters. It has not accepted the counsels of those who denounce it as an evil only less malignant than popery and in the same breath urge its adherents to surrender themselves to the tender mercies of the greater evil. The "Romanizer" has persistently declined to romanize, and has as pertinaciously continued

to assert, defend, and propagate the Catholic Faith and Life—in one word, to catholicize. The present issue, therefore, does not appear to be whether he shall be thrust out of his home, but whether he shall mould the family into his spirit. On the other hand, the movement has been a bitter disappointment to the Roman Church, exultant as she was fifty years ago, with expectations of an immense defection. That dream has faded into airy nothingness. All the energies of an able hierarchy, with convert-cardinals presiding, have been expended without proportionate returns. Indeed, it is a question whether our gains from, have not been greater than our losses to, Rome. And thus the "Romanizers" have defeated Rome. Roman-Catholicism cannot fight Anglo-Catholicism on its own ground. Anglo-Catholicism knows where its own ground is.

It cannot be deemed other than a very impressive vindication of the Catholic Revival from the old outcry, that its principles have not only gained an immense hold on the Church, but have likewise borne much fruit among the dissenting bodies in England, the "Kirk" in Scotland, and some of the most influential denominations in America. It is really astonishing to observe how Catholic truths in theology and Catholic methods of worship and spiritual growth are looked upon with favor by the descendants of Calvin, Knox, and Cartwright

The old outcry, therefore, should be dismissed from minds that would be swayed by facts and reason. It will have force only with those whose want of logic, Archbishop Laud quaintly exposed when he said, "I have converted several from popery; I have taken an oath against it; I have held a controversy against it; I have been twice offered a cardinal's hat and refused it; I have been twice in danger of my life from a popish plot; I have endeavored to reconcile the Lutherans and Calvinists; and *therefore* have endeavored to introduce popery."

But there is yet another advantage in favor of the present study of the Catholic Revival. We may now judge the tree by its fruits. The case has been luminously stated by the "Church Quarterly Review" of London, in its notice of the article on Tractarianism by Dr. Schoell in his encyclopedia of theology, previously mentioned.

"Anglo-Catholicism," says Dr. Schoell, "has now stood the test of half a century; no man can ignore its results. What Methodism vainly attempted to do one hundred years ago—namely, to pour a new life into the English Church—Anglo-Catholicism has successfully achieved. The older religious movement was forced out of the Church, and had to develop itself independently. The newer movement, on the contrary, has managed so to possess itself of the National Church, that the Church can never again loosen herself from it. It has known how to beget in English folk a new passion for their Church, as the old Catholic Church originally planted in England. Inwardly, out of the Church's own self, and not outwardly, and merely at the

side of the Church, Anglo-Catholicism has produced her manifold new works, social as well as directly ecclesiastical, foreign as well as native." Dr. Schoell includes in his catalogue the significant foundation of the S. Augustine College at Canterbury, and the extraordinary development of the colonial episcopate. . . . "In its inherent vitality and its practical outward force," he says, "Anglo-Catholicism exceeds all the other parties in the Church of England. Not only so, but it draws them after, or adopts them into it." Again, "It has restored the Christian equality of rich and poor in the common House of God. It has extended its care to the most degraded and hopeless classes of the population; but while doing this, it has at the same time discovered (a secret lost, or not gained by the German Protestant churches) how to give the Church a shape which attracts the higher classes." Dr. Schoell throughout speaks of the English Catholic movement as a "Reform." "It has taken a wider and more generous reach, in regard to men and things, than the antecedent reform in the Church of England"—the Evangelical. "It has restored the Cross and other Christian symbols to their rights within the Church, and its realistic tendency has revived art and music in their ancient character, as handmaidens of the Church. It has thus acted as a force outside the Church." "Pre Raphaelitism," in Dr. Schoell's judgment, "if not directly, is indirectly a child of Tractarianism." "The Church, as the common unity of all the faithful, must be an organism, and hence its religion, like a net, must extend over the entirety of life, and touch it at all points, from birth to death." This gives to man, as man, a high character. "The Evangelical school in England conceived of the individual man, as of one standing outside the true Church until he was converted, whereas the Tractarian school claimed every man as an integral portion of the true Church, from the moment of his baptism. Hence it does not lay the chief strain of religious activity upon getting the individual converted, but upon the culture and fuller evolution of the Christian life, which has already been made his through the sacrament." *

* See also Dr. Plumptre's "Movements of Religious Thought."

II.

Having shown the advantages enjoyed in a present study of this movement, let us *look at the Catholic Revival as in its very essence a reforming movement*, that is, a movement for the correction of abuses in an existing institution.

The necessity of reformation in the Church will be conceded by all who have sought impartial knowledge of the condition of England during the first third of this century. Had no force arisen to stop the process of degeneration, it is not difficult to imagine what would have been its outcome. Reform was imperative.

A reformation in the Church of God, whenever and wherever effected, must take its rise in the mercy of God the Holy Ghost. For, while the study of the Church, in its struggles up toward the Divine ideal, includes of necessity a consideration of earthly forces in all their variety of action and reaction, of secular as well as spiritual environment, of the imperfections, mistakes, and, often, follies of men—as well of men who work together with God as of men who may “be found even to fight against God”—it includes chiefly the contemplation of Him Who has promised that the gates of hell shall not prevail against His Church. Divine interposition is intensely

real, productive of severe collisions between truth and error, attended by violent upheavals in established conditions of corruption, and, finally, irresistible.

A reformatory movement, on its human side, will, therefore, be positive, aggressive, and, in degree as it is opposed, controversial.

It was a mistake on the part of some of its earlier advocates when they represented the movement as a *via media* between Romanism and Protestantism, so far, at least, as the term represents the comfortable avoidance of positive conviction—that amiable spirit of compromise which makes tranquillity a higher blessing than truth. This was the characteristic weakness of the Church of England at that time; it was dying of all sorts of *via media*-ism. We admit, of course, that the idea of a *via media* is not *always* the refuge of an invertebrate mental condition, though it may be a relief for moral irresoluteness. The strongest thinker is apt to seek a point of refuge between opposite uncertainties; but he has ceased to think when he maintains his place after uncertainties are resolved. Now the Catholic Movement was neither a compromise nor a trumpet of uncertain sound. It was not an eclecticism—a safe mean between the Scylla of Protestantism and the Charybdis of Popery. "There can be no mean in Divine realities which either are or

are not, and cannot have an intermediate sort of being, corresponding to the vacillations or suspensions of human opinion. Truth is one extreme, and falsehood another; there is no mean between them."* The great spiritual upheaval we are considering was a reforming conflict, an aggressive movement, against error in whatever quarter found. It was the Church of England rising into new life to oppose the enemy that approached from the Tiber, but no less the Trojan horse within the walls. It was a definite aggressive marshalling of forces against foes that from opposite quarters menaced the integrity of her Catholic life. It was positive, heroic, uncompromising. Looking for and discovering extremes, not to avoid them for the sake of comfort and peace, but to "collide" with them and so defeat their onslaughts upon the truth, it was essentially a reform and therefore originatively the work of God the Holy Ghost.

But it had its human side. Whether we consider the life in Christ individually or corporately, four basic truths should be kept in mind: (1) The ideal Christian life is exemplified only in our Lord Himself; the Church is perfect only in respect of her Divine Head. (2) Our Lord has taught us that His commandments, illustrated by His precepts and example, will have imperfect realiza-

* "British Critic," 1843, p. 278.

tion in regenerate men; the wheat and the tares grow together. (3) There is an age-long conflict between the forces of good and evil. (4) There is an ever-present tendency to degeneration, and the result is the alternation of action and reaction, which accounts for the unevenness of individual and Church history; evil as well as good has its reactionary sequence, and the reaction from evil is reformation, overcoming degenerated conditions.

A religious reformation must take its rise in the operation of Divine mercy. But as it is a treasure committed to earthen vessels, it will partake of their imperfections, being subject to the contingencies of free-will, to extravagances of self-will, to the follies of unregenerated enthusiasm, and to the influences of secular environment. It would be a violence done to the present nature of things to claim for a heavenly interposition freedom from the contingencies of its earthly reception, or to demand Divine perfection from human administration. But it would be most irrational and contrary to the analogies of experience to condemn such a visitation of mercy because of the shortcomings of its earthly development. The application of these truths to the Catholic Revival will forestall the injustice that would reject it because of extravagances and mistakes.

Few who intelligently study it would venture to doubt its Divine origin. It was greater than the men who felt its touch as the winds of heaven are mightier than the strings of the Eolian harp from which they evoke melodious strains. No human mind contrived the Anglican Revival. It was not so much an epoch of history as it was a breath from above—the *ruach Elohim* *—which brooded over the spiritual chaos of the Church of England, in the first third of this century. It was gently smiting the hearts of many humble souls who watched for the signs of a better day, even before it reached the loftier spirits whose names were afterward identified with it, to whom it gave so much—receiving back from some lifelong devotion, from others, treason and flight. It found Keble as he sat at his lyre. It found Rose offering the Holy Sacrifice at Lambeth's altar. It found Hook working out a new conception of the priestly life. It found Newman emancipated, but only in part, from the bondage of a narrow theology and a one-sided pietism. It found Palmer burning with resentment but devising practical resistance to the encroaching State. A year or two later on, it found Pusey deep in the study of Arabic manuscripts and German rationalism. It came to them like an inspiration when all the heavens were dark; when

* Genesis, i., 2.

irresolute minds were suggesting that Christianity, to survive in the world, must be made over again after the pattern which the spirit of the age might dictate; when latitudinarianism was urging the abolition of the Church to the intent that a system of moral police, made up of all the current religions, might be organized upon its ruins; when ten bishoprics had been rooted up by the sacrilege of Cæsar; when a hostile prime minister had notified the Church that its course was run and that the Bishops might as well set their house in order; when the episcopate itself was hardly worthy of a better fate, many of its incumbents justifying Sydney Smith's rhymed burlesque on a charge of one of them to his clergy:—

“ Hunt not, fish not, shoot not ;
Dance not, fiddle not, flute not ;
But, before all things, it is my particular desire
That, once at least in every week, you take
Your dinner with the Squire ” * —

when hundreds of the clergy neglected to give ear to these modest monitions without declining the prandial injunction; when church edifices were miserably out of repair, hideously furnished, and deserted by the people; when the services were barren and jejune to the last degree, sacraments were regarded as empty forms, and sermons were a monotony of moral platitudes. The

* “ Life of Dean Hook,” W. R. W. Stephens, p. 102.

evils of pluralities, non-residence, and nepotism were rampant. Those strong spiritual forces which took their rise in the Evangelical movement of the preceding century were now moribund, as the penalty of their divorce from essential factors of the Gospel. To this it must be added that "there was also a faint-heartedness among sincere Churchmen—a disposition to sit still and wait the storm—a want of that bold and faithful spirit which fearlessly proclaims and fights for the truth." *

The Rev. William Palmer in his "Narrative of Events" (pp. 4, 5), thus graphically describes the condition of things:

"Such was the disorganization of the public mind, that Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, ventured to propose that all sects should be united by Act of Parliament with the Church of England, on the principle of retaining all their distinctive errors and absurdities. Reports, apparently well founded, were prevalent that some of the prelates . . . were favorable to alterations in the Liturgy. Pamphlets were in wide circulation, recommending the abolition of the Creeds (at least in public worship), and especially urging the expulsion of the Athanasian Creed ; the removal of all mention of the blessed Trinity ; of the doctrine of baptismal regeneration ; of the practice of absolution. In fact, there was not a single stone of the sacred edifice of the Church which was not examined, shaken, undermined, by a meddling and ignorant curiosity.

"Such was our condition in the early part of the summer of 1833. We knew not to what quarter to look for support. A~

* Charge of Bishop Strachan, Toronto, 1841, quoted in Bicknell's "Judgments of the Bishops," p. 35, London, 1845.

prelacy threatened, and apparently intimidated; a government making its powers subservient to agitators who avowedly sought the destruction of the Church. The State, so long the guardian of that Church, now become its enemy and its tyrant. Enemies within the Church, seeking the subversion of its essential characteristics. And, what was worst of all, no principle in the public mind to which we could appeal; an utter ignorance of all rational grounds of attachment to the Church; an oblivion of its spiritual character, as an institution, not of man but of God; the grossest Erastianism most widely prevalent, especially among all classes of politicians. There was in all this enough to appal the stoutest hearts; and those who can recall the feelings of those days will at once remember the deep depression into which the Church had fallen, and the gloomy forebodings which were universally prevalent."

In such a condition of things it was like a new revelation from above to be assured that our Lord God had stooped to incarnation and had dwelt among men to found an Universal Divine Society, a Kingdom, "the Kingdom of the heavens," a spiritual organism, having temporal visibility and historic continuity, and all the notes and attributes consonant with such a society—a human ministry representing the great High Priest, acting in His stead, and self-perpetuating through the ages by the power of the Holy Ghost—a series of visible instruments and *media* through which the Holy Ghost effectuates God's grace upon men's souls and bodies, and by which regenerated men may worship God and maintain visible communion with Him and with all who

are in Him—a society in which our Divine-Human Lord dwells as in a Body by the power of the One Spirit and in which the unity of the Spirit is exhibited by one Hope, one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of all; a society by which God, Who is above all, and through all, and in all, matures souls in grace from the rudiments of it, up through all the processes of spiritual growth, to the heights of heroic sanctity; a society in which, in one word, the Mediator of the New Covenant potentially abides to accomplish all the purposes of the Incarnation.

Such a conception of the Church and of our Lord's relation to it was as old as the Church, but it wore the appearance of novelty to the English mind, because of the long prevalence of radical errors on the subject.

One error viewed the Church as the creature of the State and merely its instrument of moral police.

Another less revolting but still pernicious, regarded the organic expression of visible and historical religion as not so distinctly included in the contents of revelation as to forbid it from being abandoned to the operation of naturalistic development—the true Body of Christ being a definite constituency visible only to a Sovereign Whose chief attribute was will, by Whom from eternity the limitations of that Body had been

unconditionally fixed. These were the novel-ties.

The nobler truths now brought forward seemed like a revelation: they were in reality a *renaissance*—a Catholic Revival.

It is difficult to imagine, unless they have been experienced, the fascinations of a system which calmed the doubts of those who had been breathing the rationalistic atmosphere; which supplied not only motives but means for a higher form of devotion, nay, a wholly different ideal of attainment with respect to the reproduction within us of the life of Christ from that which the most ardent pietists of preceding years had suggested, an ideal which England had lost even as a memory, a tradition; which substituted the theology of the Incarnation in place of the theory of Divine Caprice, and shook off from the Scriptures the tangled masses of modern interpretation whereby their teachings had been obscured and their inspired language forced to express ideas foreign to its original meaning and contradictory of the Catholic Faith; which contemplated the external factors of religion as forms and appointments to be spiritualized and not parasitic growths to be torn up root and branch; which supplied the irenicon whereby old truth could be harmonized with what was not error in the new age, liberty and authority be made to meet and kiss

each other, and the Church of England be shown to be in touch with the Catholic life of all the ages, without surrender to the unhistorical pretensions of the papacy, and without compromise with other influences which from the time of the Lutheran delegates down (1536), sought to reform her Reformation.

To some, at the first, such a movement was like a dove from the wild waste of waters, bearing an olive-leaf in her mouth. To others, it was a bird of ill omen. It aroused the virulent hostility of those who saw in it "another Gospel;" and, indeed, it was another than theirs. A Bishop pronounced it a device of the great spiritual adversary.* The pulpit exceeded even the press in vitriolic denunciation. Others saw in it a dangerous commixture of evil and good. On the other hand, another Bishop, while cautious not to commit himself to its principles, declared that they were "forming the most remarkable movement which for three centuries at least has taken place among us." "Certainly," he added, "they have been fostered with no friendly hand. No adscititious aid of powerful patronage has helped them forward—no gale of popular applause has urged them on. On the contrary, they seem to have been the single exception which an age of

* Ordination sermon preached by Bishop Wilson in the Cathedral Church of S. John, Calcutta, May 2, 1841.

latitudinarian liberality could discover, against the rule of tolerating any religious belief." * He might have added that while there was toleration for almost every form of *unbelief*, there was every instrument of moral torture for the revived principles of the Reformation. But the spark was not quenched: it increased to a flame which no human power could extinguish.

One whose character and scholarship adorned the movement for half a century said of it: "From the very first these views spread with a rapidity which startled us. We then dreaded lest what spread so rapidly, should not root deeply. Even at the first the light seemed to spread like watch-fires from mountain-top to top, each who received it conveying it on to another so that they who struck the first faint spark, knew not how or to whom it was borne onward. The sacred torch passed from hand to hand; their own neither carried nor could withhold it. And now the light has been reflected from hill-top to valley, has penetrated into recesses; abroad, at home, within, without, in palace or cottage; has passed from continent to continent; we see it spread daily, until the whole heaven be kindled; everywhere opposed, yet finding entrance. The indirect influences, as is always the case in all great movements, have been far greater than the direct. It

* Charge of Bishop Bagot, Oxford, 1842.

reappears here and there, one knows not how. One may say reverently, firmly believing Whose work it is, "It bloweth where It listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence It cometh and whither It goeth." "

This language from the pen of one eminent for sobriety of judgment was addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury. It describes the marks and tokens of a true reformation, and may fairly be applied to the progress of this movement through the sweep of half a century since that date. Dr. Pusey's words were prophetic as well as descriptive.

III.

We do not, however, exhaust the full significance of the Catholic Revival in speaking of it as a reforming movement. It was also, in its essential features, *the reappearance of the original reforming movement of the sixteenth century.*

There is a singular quality of continuity in English history. Freeman speaks of this as its distinctive characteristic. He says, "no broad gap separates the present from the past." "The

* "A Letter to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, on Some Circumstances connected with the Present Crisis in the English Church," by the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D., 1841.

England of Edward the First is essentially the still living England in which we have our being. A statute of Edward the First . . . unless it can be shown to have been repealed by some later statute, is just as good to this day as a statute of Queen Victoria." *

It is not a difficult task, for this reason, to trace the progress of the Reformation along a varying line of triumphs and defeats, and to identify its salient features in the modern Catholic Revival.

The Reformation, viewed as the termination of the power of a foreign Bishop in England, was simply the culmination of centuries of protest and resistance. When that power was at its zenith in the eleventh century Cardinal Langton successfully opposed it, and Magna Charta declared the Anglican Church to be free.† In Edward the First's reign, the rough draft of the English Convocation appeared, and a statute repressed excessive tribute-money to Rome. More decided action was taken in Edward the Third's time. The statute of *præmunire* was enacted in the reign of Richard the Second, by which the three estates engaged to stand by the king against the

* "Historical Essays," by Edward A. Freeman, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, First Series, 1886.

† "*Anglicana Ecclesia libera sit.*"

claims of supremacy, and, in spite of frantic efforts in subsequent reactionary periods, the "hideous encroachment" (as the Pope termed it) held its place. It is a significant fact that a large deputation of English Bishops were present at the Council of Constance (1414), when the famous decree was issued claiming synodical authority over all persons, "the papal dignity not excepted," "in things relating to faith and the extirpation of schism, and likewise with reference to a general reformation of manners in the Church of God, both in head and members." Eighteen years after, the Council of Basil promulgated a similar decree, the English Bishops voting in the negative only because the Council changed the form of voting by nations. The principle of nationalism was the very genius of the Church of England. Well does Lecky remark, "hatred of foreign interference lay at the root of that old antipathy to Rome which alone rendered possible the English Reformation." *

But England was, as she now is, one of the most religious of the Christian nations. For centuries she drew her great statesmen, patriots, judges, and orators from the ranks of the clergy. Her people were intensely devoted to the Faith, and in the most degenerate epochs were singularly influenced by appeals to the conscience. In

* "England in the XVIIIth Century," i., p. 19.

the dark days of the thirteenth century, the Brothers Preachers roused the nation to a pitch of religious enthusiasm. "It was a 'revival' akin to that initiated by the Methodists in the eighteenth century."* The age immediately preceding the Reformation was as much influenced by spiritual hunger as by the new learning. The conscience of the nation cried aloud for reform. New spiritual aspirations inspired multitudes. When Henry the Eighth came to the throne, that quiet constituency which does not rise to much prominence in written history was ardently longing for a movement that would touch deeper questions than that of papal rule. Archbishop Warham had a definite scheme of reform, and Wolsey has been fairly called "a reforming Cardinal." Henry the Eighth may excite detestation as part beast, part demigod, but whatever our estimate of his character, certainly the policy of his prime-minister represented him. "They had no wish for any violent break with the forms of the past. They desired religious reform rather than religious revolution, a simplification of doctrine rather than any radical change in it, the purification of worship rather than the introduction of any wholly new ritual. Their theology remained, as they believed, a Catholic theology, but a theology cleared of the

* "*Ecclesia Anglicana*," Jennings, p. 106.

superstitious growths which obscured the true Catholicism of the early Church." *

The first chapter of the Reformation closed with the death of Henry in 1546, and what were the fruits of it?

The papal power was destroyed, and the Church of England declared competent to administer her own affairs. The headship of the king was accepted with the qualifying phrase—"so far as the law of Christ will allow." The law of Christ allowed his headship as much as it allowed that of the Bishop of Rome. It allowed neither. But those were days when Church and State were deemed necessary copartners. The continuity of the Episcopate was kept up without break, Cranmer duly succeeding Warham. The Holy Scriptures were printed in the vernacular, and commanded to be read in all the churches. The Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments were translated, and recited slowly in church that the people might memorize them, and every schoolmaster and head of a family was ordered to teach them to the children. Primers or devotional books, in English, for popular use, were widely circulated. The number of holy days was diminished. Superstitious image-worship and pilgrimages were forbidden. The Articles of 1536, while in contrast with subsequent

* "History of the English People," Green, ii., p. 178.

formularies, were a compromise between the reformers and the ultraists of the old learning, and have left their marks on the Prayer Book as it now is. The Rule of Faith was declared to be the whole body of Scripture expounded according to the sense of the words and the teachings of early doctors and councils. So much for the positive side of the Reformation.

On its negative side it was distinctly not confessional, that is, it did not formulate a new creed, setting forth novel conceptions of the religion of Christ. It was not anti-liturgical. It was not anti-sacramental. It was not anti-sacerdotal. It was not anti-episcopal. The reformers most influenced by the new learning did not dream of any measure that would decatholicize the Church, and the nation—a Catholic nation—accepted the Reformation with approbation and loyalty. At this date, let it be remembered, the Council of Trent had not yet issued a decree, and Calvinistic Presbyterianism had not yet subjugated the Genevese.

All this indicates a most healthful reformatory process. It was in a deep and real sense a Catholic revival. It was a salutary regression to the better life of the ancient Church. Whatever we may think of "the majestic lord who broke the bonds of Rome," as to his personal character, we must recognize him as an instrument of God by

whom great and beneficent results were accomplished.

But it is also apparent that multiform forces, acting in a large measure independently of his will, produced these results. Because they did not originate with Henry, they did not die with him.

But other forces were already working or about to become active, which must be taken into the account, if we would understand subsequent ecclesiastical developments and, particularly, the significance of the Catholic Revival.

The first of these was the Roman party, pure and simple—an irreconcilable faction from the beginning, and in existence to-day. During the present century it has set up an intrusive hierarchy in England to fight the Catholic Revival on its native soil, and to bring Catholic nationalism into subjection to papal universalism. Strong, defiant, pertinacious, it has never approximated success, except during the brief reign of Mary, and was never farther from it than it now is.

But there were other forces which were distinctly new. So far as they were due to reaction from abounding ecclesiastical corruption, gross ceremonialism, and papal despotism, they may be said to have shared in common the spirit of the people of England. But so far as their methods of reform and their corruptions of the

Faith were concerned, they cannot be regarded as a return to ancient purity, but, rather, they were novel and revolutionary. They favored a Christianity reconstructed on sixteenth-century ideals rather than a Church reformed by the restoration of ancient truth and purity. And it will be instructive to notice that they were differentiated from the Anglican conception of reform in other particulars. This latter was a movement in which the rulers of the Church and State and the mass of the people moved together as by common impulse. In the continental reform, the leadership was that of individual men with great powers and revolutionary propensities, acting independently of even legitimate authority. In England there was a unity of spirit in the national sense, which was wholly wanting on the Continent. And this leads on to the remark that as the spirit of nationalism made a conservative reformation possible in England, the radical forces which opposed the Catholic idea of reform were continental in their birth and nurture.

The intrusion of these exotic forces naturally produced conflict. It was a battle of the Titans. It was a struggle for life, and a struggle which furnishes us the key to the subsequent history of the Reformation up to the Elizabethan settlement, and indeed of the Anglican Communion during the succeeding three hundred years. It

has been long and deadly. The tide of battle has at one time favored the banner of the Reformation as involving no break with antiquity and no surrender of the principles of Catholicity; and again the idea of a new start on new foundations, a fresh genesis, getting all its inspiration from the spirit of the passing age, has made perilous approaches to victory. The contest is still an undecided one. We are in the thick of the fight to-day.

These foreign forces were three in number.

The first was Lollardism—an atmosphere rather than a party. It had lurked in England for many years, essentially a social and political tendency, seeking to overthrow the established order of things in state as well as church. It was an anticipation of the French revolution. "Were we to connect the Lollards with any set of views in after-times, we should say that they were the precursors of the puritanical party rather than of the Reformers. They have indeed a great deal in common with the Puritans, making due allowance for the difference of times. They are Puritans, we may say, before the Reformation, instead of after; they were Puritans and opposed to the Church under the influence of Romish errors, instead of the Church under Laud and Charles the First freed from those errors and only chargeable with the offence of being a

Church."* They were also the natural congeners of the turbulent Anabaptists, some of whom, driven from the Continent for their misdeeds, found their way to England.

Another force was Lutheranism. As early as 1536, the Lutheran princes sought to secure England's "co-operation" in the Smalcald League, and that would have brought the Church under the doctrinal influence of the Augsburg Confession, which, while strongly Catholic in its general tone, was wholly defective in respect to the apostolical polity and this without external necessity.† Two years later an attempt was made by a deputation of Lutherans to induce England to accede to the Confession, fortunately without success. More radical influences, begotten of the Germanic movement but appalling to Luther himself, were not slow to appear on English soil. But the temper of the nation as a whole remained religiously conservative through Henry's reign.

The third force was Calvinism. This was a mode of reform much more revolutionary than that of Luther, and much more the fruit of one strong brain and will. As a movement, its actual rule of faith was a book of theology written by a young man before he was twenty-six years of age. It presented a reconstructed Christianity—

* "British Critic," January, 1839, p. 102.

† "Reunion of the Churches," Dollinger, p. —.

a totally new departure in its doctrinal aspects and methods of church-government—a Christianity dominated by the philosophy of fatalism. In its very essence it amounted to a spiritual and ecclesiastical nihilism or the abolition of an old order for the purpose of rearing a new one upon its ruins. It was a creation of human genius, and its surpassing power as a logically consistent system is witnessed by its history, for after three centuries of intense vitality it only now seems about to die amidst its worshippers. No other foe like it has the Anglican Reformation stood confronted by.

The history of the Church of England since 1540 has been *the history of reformed Catholicity resisting these contrariant and aggressive forces.*

A brief survey of the past, particularly of its earlier stages—all that the limits of this lecture will permit—will illustrate this statement, and to such a survey we now proceed.

It was only when the youthful Edward ascended the throne that foreign influences came to the front in a determined way. They were invited by the Protector Somerset, himself of Calvinistic sympathies, eager to disparage a reform that thus far had gone forward on Anglican lines. The party of intrusion soon made England a scene of chaotic confusion. If the Prayer Book of 1549 is a marvel of Catholicity—and for that reason

it was a sore disappointment to the foreign divines—it is not without some scars from the fray. But not many months elapsed before its conservative character was modified by the intrigues of those who would gladly have robbed even the Second Book of its churchly remnants. The great mass of the people were out of sympathy with their iconoclastic zeal, and, by the time of Edward the Sixth's death, a strong reaction against continentalism had set in. They were quite prepared to have an end of religious anarchy, even though they must pay for it the price of a disgraceful surrender to Rome.

Mary was welcomed as the lesser evil; and then, England, maddened by the insolence of the party of disorder, passively accepted the papal despotism as a relief from their insufferable supremacy. It was a disastrous step, but it seemed to be the only practicable method of saving from utter overthrow those Catholic principles to which the national conscience was supremely loyal. The orders of the Reformation Bishops, however, were not questioned under Mary, and, in that respect, no break occurred. Neither were many of the good fruits of the reform obliterated. Spanish influence, however, induced a policy of persecution, and ere long England could count her profit and loss in fleeing from anarchy to despotism. At the close of Mary's reign all the conditions were

at hand for a Catholic revival, since both Rome and Dissent had been tried and found wanting.

That revival came with Elizabeth, who was not an admirer of foreign "new fangleness,"* as she termed it. With the great mass of the people she believed in one National Catholic Church, reformed. But again continental influences made themselves felt. The English exiles of Mary's oppressive reign had imbibed the opinions of Calvin, during their stay on the Continent, and by their return a formidable addition was made to the ranks of the ultra-protestants. The conflict was resumed. Saturated with Calvinistic and Zwinglian errors, they began to seek the dignities of the Church with fixed purpose to destroy its Catholic character. The pulpit of the Temple Church, Strype tells us, was "forenoons; Canterbury; afternoons, Geneva." "Hooker has hopes of our forefathers that died papists; Travers would not allow them to be saved." "Hooker plead for universal redemption; Travers for the decree of reprobation."† The Church was on her defence. Her enemies, filled with crotchets and inflamed with intolerant fanaticism, determined to rule or ruin, sought to reform her Reformation by receding from Catholicity to the opposite pole. In the end there was a truce, by

* Strype's "Life of Archbishop Whitgift," p. 207.

† Ibid., p. 235.

which room and verge enough was supposed to be provided for the old wine and the new in the same bottle. But, as to the Prayer Book, while Edward's Second Book was revived, it was set forth with important alterations in the Catholic direction. The integrity of its Catholic character has endeared it to subsequent generations, who to this day have looked askance at revisions and reduced such movements to a minimum of change. It was during Elizabeth's reign that the old Roman irreconcilables withdrew; and the Puritans, rejecting episcopacy, sacramental truth, the priesthood, and the memorial sacrifice, with a ferocity of temper that seemed to be a monomania, having failed to obliterate what they did not like, as they had succeeded in doing in Scotland, lashed themselves into a revolutionary frenzy. The Church of England was still episcopal, sacerdotal, sacramental, conservative, Catholic; and by the beginning of the seventeenth century the majority of the people were satisfied to have her so. A strong reaction against the Puritan faction, the Genevan discipline, and the doctrines of Calvin, had set in. It was a Catholic revival.

Under James the First the general tendency was "to emphasize sharply those distinctive features which separate the Anglican system from Romanism and sectarianism;" but the ancient

enemy was by no means dead and the struggle was resumed. In 1610, Abbott, a Calvinistic bigot, gained the chair of St. Augustine. In the next reign, that of Charles the First, the fight went on. But the formularies and laws of the Church were unchanged and her ritual still expressed her allegiance to the original principles of the Reformation. Meanwhile in Scotland the Presbyterians by "Solemn League and Covenant" pledged themselves to extirpate prelacy; and the Puritans resolved to do the same in England. The Long Parliament began its sessions in 1640. Episcopacy was abolished as "a great impediment to reformation." More than seven thousand of the clergy, charged with popery, idolatry, superstition, enmity to godliness—the gravamen in reality implying nothing more than attachment to the true principles of Catholic reformation—were driven from their cures, while these were taken up by Presbyterians and Brownists. The Westminster Confession of Faith and the Presbyterian Directory of Worship were required to be used in place of the Book of Common Prayer under severe penalties. The king was beheaded. Of the Bishops, "one was beheaded without any color of law and one joined the faction which had ruined his brethren; eighteen died in poverty; only nine survived the confusion and were restored to their sees, and of

these one had been imprisoned for eighteen years." * With iconoclastic frenzy churches were pillaged and desecrated. It looked as though Catholicity had finally succumbed to the continental fury.

But the Presbyterian reign of terror had terrors awaiting it. Its revolution was watched by revolutionists more radical still. The Independents denounced it as only a mild form of prelacy. Then, for eleven years, England had to endure the curse of the Commonwealth.

The closing of that lurid chapter was the beginning of another Catholic revival, for although the Church had been forced to hide in the catacombs, she had not died. She came out of dark corners and upper rooms; the surviving Bishops were reinstated; persecuted priests again ministered to their rejoicing flocks; altars were again set up and restored to their due position in the chancel, and the proper vestments of the priest were put on, that the Church's sublimest act of worship might point the way to God; while the crowning act of restoration was the putting forth of the Prayer Book, amended in a churchly spirit, in the form in which it has existed to this day. And all this met the approval of the nation, for non-conformists, Romanists included, did not at

* Walker's "Sufferings of the Clergy," p. 57, Oxford and London epitomized edition, 1862.

this juncture constitute one-twentieth part of the population.

Thus was terminated to a great extent the tremendous conflict that had been raging since the death of Henry the Eighth, a period of one hundred and twenty years. I say terminated only in the sense that England's Catholic heritage was not taken from her. She was triumphantly episcopal, sacerdotal, sacramental, liturgical, Catholic. Conflict did not cease, opposing systems did not surrender their forces, the revolutionary spirit was not wholly exorcised. But that settlement has not been reversed. Whatever the Church of England was at this epoch, that she is to-day.

Time does not permit me to follow more closely the subsequent chapters of English history. James the Second failed to deliver the Church to Romanism. Under William of Orange, dissent failed to subjugate her, even when she had lost the flower of her Catholic-minded clergy by their fanatical adherence to a political crotchet. William the Third was a Presbyterian, but his attempt to revolutionize the Church in the interest of Protestant non-conformity and to mutilate her Prayer Book in the interest of latitudinarianism, proved abortive. The reign of Queen Anne was marked by the ascendancy of High Church principles, and by efforts to confer the episcopal pol-

ity on Lutherans and Calvinists. A change of dynasty came with the accession of a Lutheran prince to the throne, and another dark day for the Catholic Reformation dawned. It brought spiritual paralysis with it. Convocation was suppressed as being the fortress of Anglo-Catholicism. The Latitudinarians began to drift toward their natural terminus—Arianism. The Presbyterian body was honeycombed and almost destroyed by Socinianism. Deism sought to dismiss supernatural religion from the world. The religious life of all parties was sapped. Such were the products of the Georgian era.

But the Church had within her the power of an endless life. First came the Methodist movement, with all the features of a Catholic revival; and later on the Evangelical, modelled after the Calvinistic teachings of Whitefield. But the former was pooh-poohed into schism and the latter was too one-sided to survive. The spirit of each, as far as it represented the inner life of the Church, found its complement and transfiguration in the Oxford Movement.

And thus again, as so often during the past three hundred years, the original reformation principles reasserted themselves. The light that had waxed bright and been dimmed so often, now burst forth in blazing splendor once more. Its persistent continuity, its intense vitality, its

recurrence to the original norm of reformation, its assured revival when all antagonistic forces have taxed their best energies to crush it—all this is to the impartial student the characteristic feature of the history of the Catholic Church in England.

Two remarks must close this lecture.

1. The Catholic Movement is essentially a theological one. It is a reversion to the primitive theology of the Incarnation, and it justifies its appeal to the past by the fact of the Incarnation. Its fundamental conception of that stupendous act of God is that it was His descent in the person of the Son to the sphere of the Finite, to the limitations of time and space, to the human body and soul, to history; and that when the Incarnate One ascended in His theanthropic personality to the world above, He still remained among us by the representative and potential agency of a Body Mystical which was to be visible, organic, and historic, unto His Second Appearing. The Incarnation, therefore, makes it of the very essence of Christianity that it shall be perpetually expressed through a historic creed and polity, maintaining their energy and integrity through all the contingencies of error, corruption, and degeneration—sad consequences of human frailty; and not merely an *ethos*, a spirit, a moral atmosphere. Hence, the determination of its character

at any particular epoch necessitates the appeal to history. This is the criterion which lies at the very basis of the Anglican Reform, as witnessed by all her representative bishops, doctors, and councils down to the Lambeth Conference of 1867. "The Faith in its purity and integrity as taught in the Holy Scriptures, held by the Primitive Church, summed up in the Creeds, and affirmed by the undisputed General Councils," to quote the language of that Conference, is the antidote to all error.

The Church has at times encountered a naturalistic theology, but this has at no time shown any constructive capacity. It is strong only in negations and suggestions of doubt, and, with its tendency to haze, it can never do more than render the atmosphere a little cloudy for a while.

The Church's giant foe in theology in modern times, has been the philosophy of Geneva. The Catholic theology meets it by denying its postulates and proclaiming the ancient basis of truth. It recognizes the Manger of Bethlehem as its point of departure rather than the secret counsels of an Infinite Being Whose ways we know but in part and Whose thoughts we cannot exhaustively express in any system, however logically symmetrical it may be in itself. A theology which professes to have sounded the abysmal depths of Godhood is by that token a human de-

vice. The Incarnation is the Catholic's horizon: he dare not formulate the infinite spaces beyond. Bowing in worship before the solemnity of God Manifest in the Flesh, he sees chiefly a Heavenly Father's love: while his antagonist makes of God an inexorable Law. The latter's concept of the Church is that of a limited aristocracy of grace. The Catholic Church is, as its name imports, for all, even for the world for which Christ died. The theology of the Incarnation leads on, as it has always done, to the Catholic religion. If you work consistently forward from the Word made Flesh, you arrive at the Church as the Body of Christ, having historic extension, with a definite Faith, an unchangeable *depositum* of truth, an unbroken line of ministries and sacraments, and a characteristic inner life. It is ecclesiasticism, but it is Christocentric ecclesiasticism. He, the Head, is All in all.

2. The Catholic Movement is essentially a spiritual revival, its history being the test and witness. It exalts the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, ever One God, as the true and only end of being, and believes the Paraclete to be the very atmosphere of the Church. Equally removed from a one-sided subjectivism because man has a body, and from a frigid ceremonialism because man has a soul, it discovers in the sacrament of the Incarnation the type of all other

sacraments, of which we are no more to deny the outward form than the inward grace. The Church believes in the means of grace because she believes in the doctrines of grace. She honors the form because she reverences the spirit.

The relation of the Catholic Revival to its expression in the forms of worship is intensely spiritual. It has not been as distinctly perceived as it might have been that there is a world-wide difference between ritual as *essential* and ritual as *necessary*.

Strictly speaking, ritual expression is not of the essence of worship, for the same reason that speech is not of the essence of thought. That only is essential to a thing which makes the thing what it is. Thought is the activity of the mind, but as it *may* be confined to the inner chambers of the mind, speech is not of its essence; and, *pari passu*, worship is the prostration of the soul before God, and as it *may* be wholly an interior state and act, ritual is not of its essence. Nor can any evade the force of this proposition by pleading that it has only an ideal existence, for the simple reason that as an interior condition it is practically essential to every real outward expression. "God is a Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship in spirit and in truth." Speech without thought becomes idiotic babbling. The observance of forms of worship for the sake

of the forms is as serious a perversion of the divine ordering as speech for the purpose of making sounds would be. So, then, ritual expression is not, strictly speaking, of the essence of worship, while the spirit of worship is essential to the reality of all outward expression.

But, on the other hand, ritual expression is in the order of grace as necessary as speech in the order of nature. In either case the necessity grows out of the constitution of man's nature. God has made us what we are. He has given us the power of thought and then added the faculty of speech as necessary to the expression of thought. A like necessity justifies all the divinely appointed *media* of expression in the Church. It is true that they are more than this, but they are not less, and hence we infer that to disuse them is to dishonor God. They are more than this because they are also *media* of divine impartation: they cannot be less because God has appointed them as necessary instruments whereby man in the duality of his being, as body and spirit, may acceptably approach and honor Him.

The Catholic religion therefore maintains the spirituality of worship as of its essence, and the outward expression of worship as necessary to man as he is constituted. But it goes farther and maintains that among all possible and congruous methods of expression, those are of primary

obligation which bear the insignia of divine appointment. As its theology is that of the Incarnation, its uniform approach to God is "through Jesus Christ our Lord," Whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost it worships and glorifies. As the theology of the Incarnation includes the sacrificial death once for all of the Son of God and its perpetual memorial and oblation as in heaven by the great High Priest, so on earth by His vicarious priesthood, it places that Holy Sacrament in the position of honor next after His Own theanthropic Person as the method commanded by Himself whereby we may make the most solemn outward expression of all the faith, love, adoration, penitence, gratitude, desire, and consecration that exist in His Body the Church. And it is in the same devout and grateful obedience to the orderings of God in His Church that the Catholic approaches all other sacraments or means of grace, and as a Catholic, if true to his principles, he rests satisfied with the ritual law of the Church. Hence the Catholic Revival honors the Prayer Book as enshrining the principles of the Catholic religion and the law of Anglo-Catholic ritual, and will evermore defend it as such. And why not, since the Revival was a return to the Prayer Book and the reassertion of its authority?

In conclusion, the spirituality of the Catholic

Revival is seen in its effects upon personal character. In the sanctified atmosphere of the sacramental life, the ideal of attainment is none other than the Lord's—"Be ye perfect even as your Father Which is in heaven is perfect." Thus the Church not only saves sinners but produces saints.

All the tendencies of its life are toward the infinite blue spaces of perfection. It provides for more than the development of man's natural susceptibility to religious motives, for it bids him advance into Emmanuel's land—the region of the supernatural where motives are not only nobler but different in kind from those of nature. This loftier development, because so much more arduous of attainment than reception of theological statements and practice of ritual expression, moves with more measured pace and accentuates itself only imperfectly as yet in the Church's life; but the movement toward the loftier ideals of Catholic piety in the priesthood as in the people is a shining light which shineth more and more unto the perfect day. Is it too much to say that the reality of this interior culture is the measure of the reality of the Catholic Revival? If not too much to say, then the future of this majestic God-descended movement is bound up in the fidelity of the Church not only to the Creeds and the Polity, but to the Supernatural Life—the very life-blood of the Body of Christ. As this mighty

current shall swell in volume and flow with regenerating affluence through all the Church, its fructifying power will glorify as well as justify the principles which gave to the world the English Reformation, and to the Anglican Communion, at every epoch of peril, a God-breathed revival of those principles.



Ceremonial Revival and the Church
of the Present Day.

LECTURE V.

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CEREMONIAL REVIVAL AND THE CHURCH OF THE PRESENT DAY.

THE preceding lectures of this course have presented distinct phases of the life and development of the Anglican Church. Of these, probably, the Oxford Movement is the highest expression of the Church's consciousness of her divine mission—striking its roots deep into the Catholic past, strong in present conviction of dogmatic faith and brave in its inspiration for future work.

This evening we shall endeavor to at least outline such a general view of the Church as may give the reason for a strong belief in her ability not only to remain the firm witness to the historic church which has been her constant claim, but also to give a reasonable answer and assurance of faith to the pressing questions of the present day. In such a general view of the Church, no

discussion can be adequate which either minimizes her Catholic past or emphasizes any one truth to such an extent as to destroy the harmony of the full body of dogma. And we venture here the assertion that whatever of hesitancy the Anglican Church may have shown in dealing with great questions has been, and is now, largely due to such partial views of her real character as have disturbed the balance of truths. No truth witnessed to by the Church can fail to have its full power if held and taught in the harmony of all her dogma. The Church of To-day, then, must offer some answer to the questions of to-day—chiefest of which are those which touch religion. That religion is the master-passion of the world, the history of its thought in every line abundantly shows. Hence each new theory or discovery is at once discussed in its bearing upon the idea of religion. The characteristics of the thought of to-day must also be considered if we are to appreciate present problems. The frontiers of aggressive doubt have been removed, and the present presses upon us religious questions lying back of authentic records, or documents accepted. The doubt of to-day intrenches in deeper questions. While it is true that logic may be so used as to foster false doctrine and heresy, yet it is also true that the methods of thought in any age may be a key to its doubts and to their solution.

The wonderful advance of physical science in the present day has forced upon men the use of the severest mode of inductive logic as being the only true method of an examination of premises. Such an examination further involves the historic method, and hence develops what may be called a critico-historical habit of mind. This condition of mind when acting in the use of the inductive logic has been not a hindrance, but a help, to the cause of religion. What is needed is not the revision of our logic or of the accepted faith, but the insistence upon as logical a use of terms and ideas when reasoning on religious questions as when using logic in physical inquiries. If in ordinary scientific reasoning we find the mind forced to accept certain assumptions, because of its own limitations or those of the subject-matter in hand, then let the student and teacher of religion equally insist upon the logical justice of the acceptance of certain assumptions in the reasoning used on religious questions. Further, the tendency of modern scientific thought has been to narrow the area of its accepted doctrines or dogmas. To illustrate, we now speak of *force*, *not forces*, and so witness to that unity of power which the Church sees in the One Creator. Again, the development of this same idea brings us logically to the reality of the unseen and so to the words of St. Paul: "The things which are not

seen are eternal." On the other hand, the subject-matter of religion must appeal to the whole man and not to any one faculty; hence the evidence and method of treatment of that evidence must be somewhat different from that where the reason alone must judge. Here the spiritual judgment must be complex, and hence there may be antinomies of dogma as well as of reason. In short, Christianity has only to urge an exact use of terms, an accurate use of logic, and due consideration of the character of the subject-matter with which she deals, together with the recognition of her appeal to the whole man, not to one faculty, and we do not believe there is any need for fear as to the result.

The present day, then, demands a narrowing of the area of dogma in every realm of thought. The result of this is a widening of the sphere of opinion, but it is to be noted that opinion, as such, is of no more obligation in science than in religion.

One of the current fallacies of the day is to accept as if it were dogma in the realm of science, mere opinions, while in religion our vision is keen to see the line between dogma and opinion. For example, the scientific opinion of evolution as formulated by Mr. Darwin is often assumed to be a dogma of science, and yet it is by no means so universally held as to be in the category of fully-accepted scientific dogma.

With these general observations we turn to the definite questions of to-day which seem most pressing, and to which some religious system must offer a reasonable answer.

Who shall best give that answer—Rome, Protestantism, or Anglo-Catholicity? This much is certain—whichever one can lay the hand of convincing persuasion upon the fevered brow of anxious expectancy, will see the eyes of peaceful hope beam rest and faithful acquiescence.

The title of this lecture involves two assumptions—the existence of an organized Christian body called the Church and the existence of truth. What are the form and features of each is a later question. Without these assumptions the question of any mission for the Church of to-day falls. Granting, then, the being of the Church and of truth, the first question which the analytical and critical spirit of the present asks is this: What is authority? or in another form, Is the Church a witness and teacher or an organ of development? We shall realize the import of this question more clearly when we remember the great tenderness of the mind of to-day on the question of authority. We believe that it can be shown that there is authority recognized both in physical science and in mental, and hence there need be no ground of refusal to accept authority in theological science. In all branches of learning the consen-

sus of opinion forms a basis of authority in the teaching of scientific truth, and to that consensus we accord the deference of a recognized authority. The Church cannot demand any higher view of authority and its province than can be shown as her constant and consistent claim; hence this question falls under the historical method for its data and the inductive reason for its conclusion. We begin, then, with the suggestion that the Church as an organized body of Christians should make her strongest claim to authority—whatever its power may be—in the age nearest the life of her founder. Her consciousness of power must then be freshest and keenest, for it is but newly given, and its facts, as truths, clear to the vision. That this accords with the early view of dogma as witnessed to St. Cyprian, abundantly shows when he says that it behooves us “to return to our Lord as the head or origin and to the evangelic and apostolic tradition, and from thence let the reason of our action spring whence both our order and origin arose.” *

It is worth noting that the word order here refers to the ministry of which he had just before spoken, and whom he is now exhorting. Tertullian, tracing the growth and authority of dogma, uses the same appeal to the witness of the church: “Is it indeed probable that so many and so great

* S. Cypriani Ep., p. 228, Goedhoru's edition.

churches fell into one faith by error? No error of a multitude has one result. Error of teaching or of doctrine on the part of churches ought to have produced various issues. But that which is found to be one, when found among many, is not error, but tradition." * Further, Tertullian outlines the view of Church Councils afterward developed by St. Vincent of Lerins in these words: "Moreover, councils are held in the provinces of Greece, in certain places, gathered from the universal Churches, by which both all the more profound questions are considered for the common good, and the very representation of the whole Christian name is celebrated with great veneration." † In the same line of thought, Irenæus had written that the Church had received this faith, and "although scattered throughout the whole earth, diligently guards it." ‡ In each of the passages quoted the idea of the authority of the Church is that of a witness to consentient and agreeing independent traditions. The Fathers merely carry out the idea of the Apostles. "For I delivered first of all that which I also received." "The traditions which ye have been taught." In the celebrated *Commonitorium* of St. Vincent of Lerins, the ac-

* Tertulliani *De Præscrip. Hæret.*, pp. 23 and 24, Oehler's edition.

† *De Jejuniis*, p. 872, Oehler.

‡ Irenæus *Contra Hæret.*, p. 121, Stieren's edition.

count of the Council of Ephesus gives an exact picture of the process of reception of evidence to the dogma of the Church, and the same principle appears in practice. After giving a list of the Fathers whose works were cited as being either judges or witnesses, he states that the Council desired not the doctrine of any one city or province, but further: "In order that not only Greece, or the East only, but also the West and the Latin world might be proved to have always so held, certain letters of S. Felix Martyr and St. Julius, Bishops of Rome, were read there."* Then he adds the witness of St. Cyprian to the faith of Africa and the witness of St. Ambrose of Milan.

In passing, we note here that there is no reference to, nor apparent idea of, any definition of the faith which could be "of itself irreformable and not from the consent of the Church," as the Decree of the Vatican Council reads. But the Church as the organized body of Christians not only witnesses to dogma—she also teaches and defines that dogma previously held. As a teacher, she does not develop the body of truth, but hedges it about to protect it from heresy. She is not, then, as an authority primarily a teacher, but a witness, and secondarily a teacher. This fact rests on her own claim and the history of

* *Commonitorium Vincentii Lir.*, p. 244, SS. Patrum Op. Selecta, ed. H. Harter, S.J.

dogma as a body of truth held by independent yet consentient witnesses. If, now, it be asked, Is there a body of such truth received with substantial unanimity by such a number of these independent witnesses as would make it the voice of the historic body, the Church? the answer is, Yes. Reverting to the idea that the body of dogma must be small to have such consentient witness, we may bid the inquirer to note that no historic Church to-day uses as its Eucharistic Creed other than the Nicene, which is founded upon the very idea of agreeing and independent witness of which we have been speaking. True, the Roman Church has other creeds for the reception of those called converts to her communion, and modern Protestantism has various symbols of the faith, but none in either case can show such converging lines of consentient testimony as the creed of Nicea. The Anglican Church can well afford to hold a *via media* here. She has no call to develop an incomplete creed nor to revise out of her creed statements fought for as vital, but now, we are told, "no longer tolerated in the pews."

In passing, we note that creeds are the answer of the Church in history to denials of heresy, not systematic dogmatic statements of the entire body of doctrine held by the Church. We shall find later that there are also certain doctrines that

are so inwrought into the very warp and woof of the fabric of Church life, that they are to creeds what the idea of uniformity in nature and the idea of cause and effect are to scientific thought. Such universally-accepted ideas are not, therefore, included in symbols or creeds, because they are the positive statement of the faith in articles denied by heresy and fixed in formulas by the conciliar voice of the Church, stating the original deposit of the faith, as "once for all delivered" upon disputed questions.

The authority of the Church, then, in the historic use of the term is that of a witness, and hence teacher, and not of an organ of development nor of a revealer of new dogma. Further, whenever the early Fathers discuss the idea of development, they use the term of the method of statement, defence, or definition of accepted dogma and not of the dogma itself. So St. Vincent says: "But the Church, as a careful and cautious guardian of the dogmas deposited in her keeping, never changes anything, naught diminishes, adds nothing." Again: "Finally, what else has she ever attempted by the decrees of Councils but that the same thing might afterward be more diligently believed which before was simply accepted?" *

The Anglican Church, then, we believe, may

* S. Vincent *Lir.*, pp. 219, 220, *supra*.

confidently claim a mission as the Church of To-day in such a teaching of the ancient and historic idea of authority as may show, upon accepted principles of reasoning in other fields of thought, the true rationale of the question of authority and private judgment. But the recognition of the Church as the authoritative witness and hence teacher of the truth involves a further question. Is the truth thus kept witnessed to and taught by the Church dogma or developed opinion? There are just two terms logically definitive of what is held to be Christian truth, and they are dogma and developed opinion. The question is, then, as to the *necessary* character of truth relating to God, Is it dogma or opinion? We do not forget that dogma has been prejudiced in the minds of many by the adjective form dogmatic. Yet we do not, also, forget that the point at issue is not what is the popular idea of the word or its acquired look, but, is it the true term for truth?

It is one of the anomalies of the present day that men who admire and laud accurate definition, exact idea, and definite terminology in all other realms of thought, grow strangely fearful of this very much-loved accuracy, exactness, and definiteness when the truth to be held is of the being of God and the soul's relation to Him. Ask that here too men shall

hold truth as positive and objective, and forthwith a new crusade goes forth in all the brilliant, dazzling armor of progress, development, and general haziness. Even the sacred right of private judgment will then rein in its fiery individual independence, and rest its hitherto free lance in the majestic presence of the plumed knight of individual indefiniteness.

But why all this tremor when truth is the subject of our search? Because positive, objective truth once granted and accepted implies moral obligation on the part of the soul—just as every legal right has a correlate obligation. This is the real, underlying objection to the word dogma. Yet this word dogma had no such idea as men now import into it, in the ages nearer the life of the Incarnate Word, who is “The truth.”

In that morning of the newer life when men were coming out of the shadows of human relative speculation in the full sunlight of that “Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world,” the simple grandeur of His word, “*I am* the way, the truth, and the life,” gave the glory of a spiritual power to the fair form of truth and made it positive and objective. There is no place in the New Testament for a relatively true dogma. There is no tremor of uncertainty in the voice that speaks:

"It seemeth good to the Holy Ghost and to us." Men do not suffer martyrdom for what is held as relatively true or the opinion of speculative philosophy. It was, and it will be, the strong sustaining power of positive and objective dogma that became an inspiration in the darkest hour of persecution, an enriching and ennobling of the fairest gifts of natural life. The will demands positive purpose as the basis of action—the soul positive truth as the motive power to holiness.

But the word has a history apart from theological usage. Does it in other spheres show any quality that may fit it any less to express truth in divine realities? Its earlier usage is of dogma as the expression of legal truth. The law as a rule of life enacts upon the basis of truth. Hence the Attic Law defines "Every law is, from one point of view, a discovery and gift of the Gods; from another point of view a dogma of wise men." Epictetus uses it of settled truth thus: "Dogma, everywhere the unconquerable dogma." The two central ideas in the word are fixedness and reception—continuous in history and under authority. Similarly, Judge Markly, of the High Court of Judicature at Calcutta, treating of consent and the law of custom, expresses the same idea of fixedness and reception thus: "What was the same to all and amongst all." Here is a case

of truth in legal doctrine so similar to the famous Vincentian rule as to make it seem almost an echo of the words of St. Vincent. In the *Commonitorium* of St. Vincent—certainly the most truly Catholic treatise upon the nature of authority and the faith—truth is always presented as dogma—not developed opinion. It is well to remember that St. Vincent wrote this work—of which the second book is a mere summary in its present form—in the year 434, when the spirit of the age was pre-eminently controversial and most careful in the use of terms. If ever, then the word dogma would have been attacked as too severe a term for the truth, but we do not find any such action. St. Irenæus, and Tertullian also, treat the truth solely as dogma, while discussing the theory of development, which has become so fashionable in these later days. In fact, the entire associations of the word dogma are with truth as positive. So Cicero would have philosophy as true, positive. Said he: “Philosophy, or wisdom, should hesitate not either as to her own being or her decisions, which the philosophers call dogma.” So, then, if these truths were to be held as certain, they were then to be called dogmas. In the Apostolic Fathers, the word is used constantly of teaching coming down from Christ and his Apostles. St. Ignatius urges the Magnesians: “Hasten, then, to be confirmed

in the dogmas of Christ and his Apostles."* Hence Bauer defines dogma as that in which lies the idea of the essential and necessary, the fundamental and the first principles, which is, as such, pure knowledge and has absolute value. Examples are at hand in St. Justin Martyr, St. Clement, Origen, St. Cyril, St. Basil, and St. Chrysostom of this use of the word as meaning definite and accepted truth. The consentient witness, the agreeing testimony, of the body of Catholic tradition is to the truth delivered by Christianity as dogma—not as developed opinion. To show this we need but to trace the history of the formation of the Creed of Nicea. Is it a body of opinion developed in history, or is it dogma delivered by witnesses? The popular idea is that the creed is the result of separate resolutions passed by the Council of Nicea. But the history of the definition is otherwise. It is that of a set of facts witnessed to by various witnesses and all agreeing in the one teaching. There is no question of a revision of the faith of the fourth century to meet the theology of that age as the current phrase of to-day expresses the view of doctrine held in many quarters. The question then was felt to be, What is the truth? not, What is acceptable? And that truth was then proven by the fact that the doctrine had been the same from the Apos-

* *Ad Magnes.* Cap. 13-1, edition Gebhardt, Harwack, and Zahn.

ties' time, and as such continuous and delivered from age to age through the hands of authority, and hence it was dogma or received truth—not developed opinion. This dogma became the common law of faith and was made statute enactment by the decrees of the Councils of the Church.

To illustrate the real difference between the idea of dogma and developed opinion, take the dogma of the Resurrection and the wave theory of light. Each in its own sphere is taught as fact. But note the difference in the presentment of the two ideas as they are enshrined in history. You can see the first suggestion of the wave theory, its process of proof, the growth of its reception in the scientific world, and then you begin to see it treated as an accepted theory, and yet a later age takes up the subject, and so to-day many able scientific writers question the wave theory which we were taught but a few years ago as dogma in the scientific world.

All the phenomena that form the basis of the inductive reasoning which is the great forge of truth in science have not yet been examined; hence the so-called truths of science are constantly liable to revision under new light. But in the dogma of the Resurrection all the phenomena ever opened or, so far as we know, to be opened are now before us. The stream of dogma must, then, flow downward from the

mount of primal revelation to the world. Its proof lies not in an accumulation of experiments and then the agreement of the savans, but in the identity of statement of it as a truth held "everywhere, always and by all," and so in the agreement of delivery in all ages, places, and by the body of the Church, and not by any one section of the Church. In religion, as a rule of life and body of doctrine, the evidence is all in. It is not so in science. Hence in any broad view of the basis of dogma there is no room for its revision—unless we are to hold that it was not at first held as a body of complete truth. For this view there is no evidence worth the name in the body of early Christian records. Hence we conclude that the truth as kept, witnessed to and taught by the Church, was a received body of teaching delivered by continuous witness and not developed opinion.

Again, we claim for the Anglican Church the possession of the true answer to this second question of to-day in the statement that anything less than the holding of religious truth as dogma is the weakening of any idea of objective truth. But the question may be asked, Is truth objective? What do you mean by objective? We answer, we mean by objective truth the basic facts of the faith as existing independent of the mind accepting or rejecting them. The popular

idea underlying much of the reasoning of the present on religious truth, is that truth is dependent for its being and obligation upon the life, upon the mind of the subject who receives or rejects it, and hence that it is subjective. But if this be true in the sphere of truth as to religion, it is the only realm of thought in which it is so held. All other truth is held to be true, *per se*, in itself, not in its reception. Imagine a man denying the law of the circulation of the blood because he did not accept it, or the law of revolution of the planetary system for the same reason. In all truth of science, law, or medicine, the truth is objective. So in theology we see no reason to hold that its truths are any the less objective. That truth which is to be in any sense the motive power to nobler deed, the inspiration of higher thought and more ennobling ideals, must stand as the continuously held truth of God and an objective existence.

Again, the mind of the present has been so leavened by the idea of the unity of the powers of nature, the unity of force, the great realization of the unity of the race by the fact of language and religion, that the general idea of unity has at last forced its way to an expression in the highest body known to the Anglican Church—her collective Episcopate.

So we come to the third question of the

day which lies at the basis of the idea of any real unity. Is the dogma, or objective truth, delivered by the members of the Christian Church, or is its delivery provided for by the organic character of the Church? At this point all efforts toward unity find their greatest obstacle. This question of the organism of the Church is far deeper than a mere preference for equally valuable modes of government—as the question is usually put. If authority rests in the agreement of independent witnesses and the truth be objective and, therefore, dogma, then we should look for the historic witness and find both the truth and the witness equally discoverable in the historic record. Is it so? Is the claim for truth as delivered by the witnesses whom we have found thus agreeing, left as a suspended body of dogma, or is it linked to the organism of the Church? As a matter of mere historic fact, we find that no treatise of the early Christian Fathers considers the binding power of truth without also including in the argument the fact of the truth so held having come through the Historic Episcopate.

We use the term Historic Episcopate for this reason—not only as the one adopted by the House of Bishops, but because it has been used to cover a so-called theory of the ministry which practically destroys any belief in the power of

the Episcopate as a witness to dogma. The changes have been rung on the two words, Historic Episcopate, used by the Bishops, as if they meant the words to imply something less than the much-feared words Apostolic Succession. Hence it may be well to quote the other words of the Bishops introducing the four points in which they find the basis of organic unity—and any other unity is merely sentimentalism. The Bishops say: “But, furthermore, we do hereby affirm that the Christian unity now so earnestly desired by the memorialists can be restored *only* by the *return* of all Christian communions to the principles of unity exemplified by the *undivided Catholic Church* during the *first ages* of its *existence*; which principles we believe to be the *substantial* deposit of *Christian Faith* and *Order* committed by *Christ* and his *Apostles* to the *Church* unto the *end* of the *world*, and therefore incapable of *compromise* or *surrender* by *those* who have been *ordained* to be *its stewards* and *trustees* for the *common* and *equal* benefit of all men. As *inherent parts* of this *sacred deposit*, and therefore as *essential* to the *restoration* of unity among the divided branches of Christendom, we account the following, to wit.” The fourth of these “Inherent parts of this sacred deposit,” “which principles [they affirm] we believe to be the *substantial deposit* of *Christian Faith* and *Order* committed by *Christ* and his *Apos-*

ties to the Church unto the *end* of the world, and therefore incapable of compromise or surrender," is the *Historic Episcopate*. We submit that no mind trained to consider the most ordinary use of words will see in such an *Historic Episcopate*, "committed by Christ and his Apostles," anything less than an Apostolic Succession.

We do not now propose to go over the old ground of the witness of the Fathers to the *Apostolic Succession* as the correlate to the "Faith once for all delivered," but merely notice in passing the very forcible language of Tertullian upon the connection between the Faith and Order of the Church. In the twenty-first chapter of his "De Præscriptione" he says: "Hence, therefore, we deduce the rule that if our Lord Jesus Christ sent his Apostles to preach, no others ought to be received as preachers than those whom Christ appointed, because no other one knew the Father except the Son, and he to whom the Son revealed Him, nor does the Son seem to have revealed Him to other than the Apostles whom He sent to preach—surely that which He revealed to them."* The office of the lay, or unordained, preacher seems to have been a later discovery. The evidence from the Fathers—the marshalling of proof passages—as to the *fact* and *principle* of the Apos-

* Vol. II., p. 19, Oehler's edition.

tolie Succession, or the Historic Episcopate, has been so elaborately presented in formal treatises that we shall not attempt any such treatment of the subject in the comparatively narrow limits of a single lecture. It will be sufficient for our purpose to present to your thoughtful attention, chiefly, the evidence of the Canons of the Church prior to the ninth century.

To fully grasp the *evidential value* and *force* of these canons, we must bear in mind the intimate connection between Theology and Canon Law, and the influence of certain ideas of civil law upon the mind of the early Church—East and West—as she developed her body of Canon Law. Further, we need to keep clearly before us the fact that Canon Law is a body of *positive law* giving effect, in the sphere of government, to certain *dogmas* received in the sphere of Theology. Hence we find that the earlier view of the Church was that Theology and Canon Law are one science under the one name—Theology. Hence we read in Selvaggius: “For there was no difference during that period [the first ten centuries] between theologians and canonists. But in the twelfth century the faculty of canons separated into two schools, one of which took the name of Theology, the other of Canon Law.” Again: “Hence we should by no means doubt that theology is connected with canon law

by so great an affinity that, unless both be joined together, and mutually furnish light for each other, no great progress can be made in either faculty." * This is certainly a very strong statement of the relation of theology to canon law, and yet we must not forget that these are the deliberate statements of a master in scientific theology.

Before we take up the influence of certain ideas of civil law upon the formative period of canon law, it may be well to recall the difference, in habit of mind and point of view, between the East and the West. The mind of the Eastern Church was essentially metaphysical and hence speculative. The exquisite delicacy and subtle modes of statement of the Greek language, the great problems which later Greek philosophy left as a heritage of thought for the answer of theology, the profound mysteries of the new religion, questions as to the Divine Persons, Essence, and Nature—yes, the very nature of the Eastern mind, resulted in that philosophical mode of thought and reasoning which produced the great heresies condemned by the Œcumenical Councils. To minds of such characteristics even the civil law became not only a body of rules of action, but also a casket containing a jewel of truth divine. Witness the old definition: "The

Vol. I., Lib. I., Tit. 2, 8.

laws desire and aim at this, the just, the good, and the expedient. Every law is, from one point of view, a discovery and gift of the gods; from another, a dogma of wise men, a correction of voluntary and involuntary sins, a common covenant of the state according to which it behooves all to live." * Parallel with this is that given by Zenophon, a definition which seems to almost embody Austin's terse definition of positive law: "Whatsoever the sovereign power of the State decrees, after consulting as to what it should do, is law." † If in any body of canon law we should expect to find any trace of a philosophy of the doctrine of Holy Orders, especially as to the position of the Episcopate, we would confidently expect to find it in the Greek Canon Law, developed by men trained in the most subtle and profound philosophy of the world. We should find some discussion at the great Councils of that well-worn—and very thinly-worn—phrase of the Episcopate being necessary to the *well-being* but *not* to the *being* of the Church. What an opportunity was there for compromise, policy, and the other fond devices of timid minds when face to face with the question of truth! It is very significant that among the many debates on doctrine found in the records of the Councils, the subject

* Demosth. Arist., quoted in Telfy's *Corpus Attic Juris*.

† Zenophon's *Memorabilia*, Lib. I., cap. 2, § 43.

of the Episcopate seems never to have been disputed over by rival "schools of thought"—as the phrase of to-day has it. While deferring to higher authority and proof from the records of the Councils, we can find but one case where the question is squarely an issue. The case is this. One Ischyrras claims to be a Presbyter, ordained by a schismatical Presbyter named Colluthus. The question is submitted to a Synod of Egyptian Bishops in the year 340 A.D., fifteen years after the Council of Nice. The case is called. Now, surely, we shall hear an elaborate defence of the validity of Ischyrras' ordination, on the ground that the Episcopate is necessary to the "*well being*" but *not* to the "being" of the Church. How much possible trouble may be saved if the Council will *even suggest* such a theory of the Episcopate, and on that ground declare this alleged ordination by a Presbyter valid! What a grand opportunity is here for breadth and views and schools of thought! But the question is one of cold fact. Ischyrras claims to be a Presbyter, and bases his claim on an alleged ordination by Colluthus, said *Colluthus* having been himself a *Presbyter* at the time of said ordination. Either, then, Ischyrras is a Presbyter or he is not. If he is a Presbyter, then ordination by a Presbyter is valid. If he is not a Presbyter, then ordination by a Presbyter is invalid. The Council decrees that

Ischyrras is *not* a Presbyter; hence that *ordination* by a *Presbyter* is *invalid*.

But we may be told that this conclusion is our own, not involved in the words of the Council. Let us see. The Council states the decision of the case and its reasons therefor—thus: “From whence, then, is Ischyrras a Presbyter? Who ordained him? Colluthus, indeed? for this is all that is left. But it is evident, and no one doubts it, that Colluthus died a *Presbyter* and every ordination by him is *invalid*, and all those ordained by him in his schism have been and are laymen and are so treated.”* Note the way in which the Fathers of the Council build up this decree: 1st. Colluthus—the one said to have ordained Ischyrras—*died a Presbyter*. 2d. *Every ordination* by him is *invalid*. 3d. *All those ordained* by him have been and are *laymen* and *are so treated*. 4th. No one doubts these facts. Now, these statements are really minor premises in the argument. What is the major premise? It would seem to be, upon any logical view of the case, this: Ordinations by Presbyters are invalid. This ordination of Ischyrras was by a Presbyter. Ergo, this ordination is invalid. Further, persons invalidly ordained are laymen and so treated. Ischyrras was invalidly ordained. Ergo, Ischyrras is a layman and so treated. But

* Hardouini, Acta Conciliorum, Vol. I., p. 581 B.

perhaps the point will be raised that ordination by a *Presbyter*, if *invalid*, would become *valid* by the presence of *three Presbyters* as *ordainers*. The sufficient reply to this seems to be this fact: The Council base their final action *not* on the *number* of *ordainers*, but on the *Orders held* by the *Ordainer*. Hence they first state that the ordainer—Colluthus—was a *Presbyter* at the time he ordained Ischyrras and died a *Presbyter*, and that hence his “*Every ordination*” is “*invalid*,” and, further, that all persons ordained by him “are *laymen* and *are so treated*.” The well-being theory of the Episcopate apparently escaped the notice of the Egyptian Bishops at Alexandria as a solution of the question, Is an ordination by one in *Presbyter’s* orders valid?

We turn now to Western Canon Law. In order to fully realize the force of the evidence of Western Canon Law upon the subject of the Historic Episcopate, let us briefly look at the intellectual spirit of the West. We have crossed into a new climate, we find. In the East, the best thought was busy upon great problems of metaphysics and philosophy. In the West, we meet great problems being wrought out in an atmosphere charged with legal and forensic ideas. The Western mind is thoroughly permeated with legal ideas, its thought moulded by legal habits of reasoning, its

stream of life flows in legal channels. By inheritance and culture the mind of the West was legal in all its methods of action. It had gladly learned philosophy at the feet of the East—had listened attentively and accepted the Eastern solution of the profounder questions of Theology, as they successively touched the questions of Personality, Essence, Nature, and Manifestation of the Godhead. For centuries the professions of arms and of jurisprudence were the only sure highways which met at the portals of the temple of fame. We do not forget the glory of the Augustan age, but that glory was, comparatively, of short duration. Then the Western mind reverts to its old channels, and students once more crowd the lectures of the Roman Jurisconsults. To such a life the Church presented the highest message of God, and the Western world, accepting the Eastern settlement of the great questions as presented in the Œcumenical Councils as final, turned its attention to questions for which its legal inheritance and training fitted it, and to which it was by nature more inclined. Hence the problems that first engaged the mind of the Western Church show, in their treatment, the deep substratum of legal thought which underlies the Theology of the West. To illustrate: to the legal mind of the West legal consequences were so united to legal causes that they were *inevita-*

ble results. This idea lies in the common definition of the legal term Obligation, as "The *bona of law* by which we are *of necessity* bound to the fulfilment of anything."* Thus the heresy of Pelagius became, in its ultimate analysis, the metaphysical problem of free will viewed under a legal aspect. Again, the nature of sin and its transmission by inheritance, the debt of sin and its satisfaction, the necessity and completeness of the Atonement—these all are treated by the West under the influence of legal ideas which are apparent in the method of their discussion in the West. No thoughtful student can fail to see in the Theology of the West the influence of the Roman legal ideas of Obligation, Succession, Contract, and Delict.

There are three epochs in the study of Law that we may properly note here: 1st. That of Judicial Law. Probably the earliest form of civil law is that of a judicial judgment in a particular case.† Parallel with this judicial law we find in Canon Law certain judicial opinions of eminent Bishops in particular cases which are called Canons, and hence are to Canon Law what these judicial decisions are to

* Inst. Justin., III., 13

† Cf. W. Markby's Elements of Law, Oxford, 1874, p. 25; Sir H. S. Maine's Ancient Law, Am. ed., 1885, p. 5.

civil law.* Such are the Canons of Dionysius and Peter, Archbishops of Alexandria, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Basil, Gregory Nyssen, Gregory Theologus, Amphilochus, Timotheus, Theophilus, and Cyril of Alexandria, and the canons of Gennadius and Cyprian. 2d. That of Custom or Customary Law. The importance of this period in the growth of law arises from the close relation of custom to positive law. As tradition—used in the technical theological sense—underlies dogma, so also custom underlies positive law, and both tradition and custom rest upon the *communis consensus*. Here, again, the Church inherited certain ideas of the civil law upon custom. What, then, was the meaning of custom as used in the civil law? Markby defines it as “The uniformity of conduct adopted under similar circumstances on *many successive similar occasions*.” † Savigny speaks of the power and *evidential value* of custom thus: “A series of *uniform acts* betrays a *common source*, the *belief* of the *people*, and nothing is more removed from chance or mere arbitrariness.” ‡ Again he says: “Here we have the operation of the rule of *continuity* in *opinions*, in

* Cf. Beveridge's *Synodikon*, Vol. I., p. 158 ; Hardouini, Vol. III., p. 1660.

† *Elements of Law*, p. 32.

‡ F. Carl von Savigny, *System des heutigen Römischen Rechts*, Lec. 12.

acts and circumstances." * "In the Roman law we find no definition of the time required for the establishment of such successive acts as custom. The commonly-received definition makes "Custom long observed" the measure of duration. Lightwood, speaking of the persons observing any customary rule, lays down as the number "The vast majority of the people." † If, now, we take up the rule of St. Vincent of Lerins, "Everywhere, always, and by all," ‡ and examine it as St. Vincent develops it, we find that the same idea underlies it. In Chapters 2d, 3d, 17th, and 30th, he elaborates the meaning of this famous rule. Over against the dogma held by any one Church, or in any one part of the Church Catholic, St. Vincent places that held in *all parts* of the Church; against *new*, or at least *more recent*, dogmas he opposes those held through *all the ages*; against any dogma held by any *one teacher*, or *Father*, he places that held by the *whole body* of the Church Catholic. This interpretation of St. Vincent's rule will be found to be the basis of the notes of the Jesuit editor, Father Hueter, which I have used as a safeguard against any Anglican

* Savigny, *ibid.* Cf. Positive Law, J. M. Lightwood, p. 355, London ed., 1883.

† Lightwood, p. 397.

‡ Sanct. Patrum Op. Sel., Vol. IX., ed. H. Hueter, S.J., pp. 153, 200, 243.

prejudice which might be supposed on the part of another editor. Of late both Roman and non-Anglican writers have endeavored to show that St. Vincent's rule could not be used because it could not be verified in the conditions seemingly required. The fact is that the rule of St. Vincent, taken as he explained it, is still sound. However, it is not a good working rule for the modern school of development, whether Roman or Protestant. We now come to the third period in the growth of law—that of Positive Law. Dr. Holland defines it thus: "Law which has been actually imposed" and "Authoritatively imposed." * Austin says: "Every positive law, or every law simply and strictly so called, is set by a sovereign person or a sovereign body of persons," and "it is set by a monarch, or sovereign number, to a person or persons in a state of subjection to its author." † Such a body of positive laws or commands are the Canons with which we are now concerned. They are, 1st, a body of positive commands, and, 2d, set by an admittedly sovereign body—the Bishops in Council assembled. Back of these Canons lie the decisions of individual Bishops as judges and a body of customs as

* Jurisprudence, T. E. Holland, D.C.L., Oxford, 1882, pp. 8 and 35.

† Lectures on Jurisprudence, John Austin, Vol. I., pp. 225 and 226.

ancient and continuous and universal as those required by civil law procedure.

Further, the sixth Canon of the Œcumenical Council of Nice gives validity to custom thus: "Let the ancient customs have authority"—or force of law.* The usual rendering of the word *κρατεῖτω* as "prevail" or "continue to exist" does not seem to give force to the *κράτος*, or authority, now given these ancient customs by positive law; hence we venture to render by the stronger form as "have authority." The first written records of Councils present the Bishops as the sovereign body in the Church, as issuing decisions and canons—in brief, as exercising both judicial and sovereign powers. The Bishop of this period is far removed from the position of either a chief—Presbyter, as one theory suggests, or a financial head of the Diocese, as another theory affirms. What, then, is the basis upon which the idea of sovereignty rests? It would seem, from a careful historic analysis of the idea of sovereignty in positive law, that the basis of sovereignty is to be found in (1) the act of the people conferring such power by a constitution, or (2) by an inheritance of certain powers through succession. In these two ways only have sovereign powers been received.

If, now, we take the first theory of the basis of

* Hardouin, Vol. I., p. 325 C.

sovereignty—viz., that it was *conferred by the body* of the *communicants upon the Bishops*, what records attest it? No body of canons relate any rules for *such a mode of conferring the sovereign power*. No custom is alleged having such length of practice and such acceptance by a vast majority of the communicants as would be accepted for any powers claimed by civil law under like conditions. No decision of any great Doctor or teacher of Canon Law in any special case is alleged from the recorded decisions referred to above.* In short, the *three admitted* periods of the growth of law furnish no such records of this assumed conferring of power as would be called a valid proof in any civil law question. Further, any such conferring of power from the whole body of the Church would involve a constitution. Any constitution states the officers of the body formed under it, defines their powers, and creates certain rights, duties, and obligations. It may leave to the statutes enacted under it a fuller definition of these powers, functions, duties, rights, and obligations. But *no such constitution* appears in the historic period of the growth of Canon Law. The *first* historic records of the Canon Law give us the picture of the Episcopate as in possession of and exercising this sovereignty

* Cf Beveridge's *Synodikon*, Vol. I., p. 158, and *Hard.*, Vol. III., p. 1660.

in the Church. Nor is there any record of the question of *their power so to do* having been raised in any ecclesiastical court. There *are* questions as to whether this or that decree is *according to the Canons*, and to them many appeals are made. But mark that those Canons were the work of the *Episcopate*, and there is no record of their *power to make such Canons being questioned*. As against the decree of some one Bishop or a Synod, the Canons of the Church Catholic are cited. But there are no appeals on record against the *right of the Bishops to enact such Canons* and so exercise *sovereignty by enacting positive law* in a system of *commands*. Having failed to find in *legal decision*, in *long custom* of the vast majority of cases, and in the *positive law* of the Church, the Canon Law, any such *record of sovereignty conferred by a constitution*, we feel justified in concluding that the *Sovereignty held actually and exercised by the Episcopate* at the first historic period was *not conferred* by the people under the enactments of a Constitution. From this point of view the term Historic Episcopate means simply the Episcopate as possessing sovereignty at the dawn of History. There remains, then, but one other basis upon which to rest the idea of sovereignty, viz., that of an inheritance of rights and duties by succession. Such succession carried with it to the successor the *entire body* of

rights and duties which devolved upon the predecessor. This idea of succession was a familiar one to the Western mind. It came from Roman testamentary law, which was a law of personal succession.* The extension of the personal law of succession involved and evolved the law of official succession. In both these ideas of succession the *one underlying* idea is the *continuity* of the *personality* of the *predecessor* in the person of the *successor*. And such succession involved the continuity of the legal rights and duties of the predecessor in the person of the successor. It may be well to note here that the earliest idea of sovereignty is not *territorial*, but *personal*—that is, over persons. Territorial sovereignty, or jurisdiction, is the result of a later development of law.† But such succession, as a civil idea, involved a universal succession—that is, to all the rights and duties of the predecessor—at the death of the person succeeded. When our blessed Lord drew near His Ascension, He made provision for this exact idea of succession. The Son of Man had come to save that which was lost. He was then about to leave the world. Did He show any design to continue in the world any of the power which He brought into it? and by any law of succession? In the first place, he claimed

* Cf. Maine's Ancient Law, p. 172 ff.

† Ibid., p. 99 ff.

the power of sending His Apostles upon the basis of *power delegated* to Him. "*All power is given unto me* in heaven and upon the earth. Go ye, therefore, make disciples of all nations." * This *power* is, properly, delegated authority. Again, He said: "Even as my Father sent me, so send I you." † St. Paul claims to exercise the power of forgiveness "In the person of Christ." ‡ These words are spoken by our Lord after His resurrection to men who are sent "Even as my Father sent me," and He promises them "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." § In these brief words of power and promise lies the germ of the *authority found in actual exercise* and having *sovereignty* in the beginning of history. The Apostles thus became, so to speak, the heirs of Christ, and the familiar law of succession which the Western world knew, "Succession to the entire legal position of the deceased," coupled with the Master's own words delegating His power to them, settled the position of the Episcopate in the Western Canon Law. The possession of this sovereignty by the Apostles and the Episcopate in succession is thus a naturally-accepted fact when we consider the meaning and

* St. Matt. xxviii., 18, *πᾶσα ἐξουσία.*

† St. John, xx., 21, *Καθὰς.*

‡ 2 Corinthians, ii., 10.

§ St. Matt. xxviii., 20.

influence of the word "succession" to the legal mind of the West. But in the development of Canon Law we must expect to find Rights, Duties, Obligations, and Sanctions just as they were to be found in the civil law. However, these are the creation of positive law, and hence are so found in their beginning and growth in the Canon Law. But where are there any canons conferring the power of ordaining and governing the clergy upon the Bishops? Canons are enacted by the Bishops to protect *rights* which they are each recognized as *having already*, but not one *conferring* the *power of sovereignty* which they alone exert in the Church. In short, there being no records showing the conferring of sovereignty upon the Bishops in the Church, we conclude that their *admittedly exercised sovereignty* was not theirs by *constitutional conferment*. Further, from the undisputed *exercise* of that *sovereignty* in the *enactment of positive law*, called Canon Law, and from the canons enacted for *succession* to the *Episcopate*, we conclude that such sovereignty is in the Episcopate by *succession* through consecration. In other words, the sovereignty inheres in the Episcopate, and is not conferred. Upon the other Orders of the Ministry rights are conferred by positive law. In the civil law, the capacity for a right may inhere in the person, but in order for it to become a *legal right*, it must be

realized by the statute giving such capacity legal being—then we have a right as a legal entity. So in Canon Law the sovereign power confers rights upon the other Orders and upon the Laity. Hence we find a gradual extension of rights in the case of the Presbyterate and Diaconate by the sovereign power—the Episcopate. But no such enlargement occurs in Canon Law in the case of the Episcopate. Its powers of conferring Holy Orders and sovereignty are by consecration—not created by law. But, like all sovereign powers, the Episcopate may enlarge, and has enlarged, the rights of the other orders by delegation and representation.* Hence a national Episcopate may ratify such a constitutional form of organization as that of our American Church. Still the final veto power rests in the Episcopate—the sovereign body. This is the real meaning of the House of Bishops sitting as a *separate body* and by *virtue of their Orders* while the House of Deputies sits as *representative* of the *Dioceses*.

We have now considered the position of the Episcopate as seen in two great systems of the Law of the Church—Eastern and Western Canon Law. Neither of these codes shows us any contention adjudicated as to the sovereignty exercised by the Episcopate. Neither the speculative and subtle mind of the East nor the forensic and

* Cf. Austin, Vol. I., p. 250 ff.

practical mind of the West produced any such questions. Why? We feel that only one conclusion can be fairly reached upon this point, and that is that the Episcopate was accepted as having sovereignty through succession. But from whom? The Apostles first claimed and exercised sovereignty in the early church. The Episcopate is found exercising the same sovereignty—therefore they received it in succession from the Apostles. Thus the custom of the Church at the beginning of historic records witnesses to “A common source, the belief of the people,” as well as to “The operation of the rule of continuity in opinions, in acts, and in circumstances.” We can well see, then, the reason for the language of the Declaration of the House of Bishops when, among the “Principles we believe to be the substantial deposit of Christian Faith and Order committed by *Christ* and *His Apostles* to the Church unto the end of the world, and therefore incapable of compromise or surrender,” they place as one of the “inherent parts of this sacred deposit” the Historic Episcopate. This “substantial deposit” the Bishops affirm to have been made by “Christ and His Apostles.” One part of this deposit they further affirm to be the “Historic Episcopate.” Do we need any stronger statement of the Apostolic Succession *in* the Historic Episcopate? It would be difficult to frame

such a statement. And yet some would have us think that the Bishops intended to claim less than the Apostolic Succession, because they say Historic Episcopate! Further, the Bishops join together in this "substantial deposit" "Faith and Order." Why? Simply because the Episcopate was universally in Canon Law not only the sovereign in rule and conferring Holy Orders, but the witness to the positive, objective, and, therefore, dogmatic faith.

When the Council of Constantinople in A.D. 381 established anew the faith of Nice, it enacted that the "Creed of the 318 Fathers assembled at Nice in Bithynia should not be set aside, but that it shall remain authoritative."* The Council of Ephesus in Canon seventh appeals to the witness of the "Fathers assembled at the city of Nice." So also the same appeal is made to the Episcopate as witnessing to the "Faith once for all delivered," in the Council of Chalcedon—in its Canons and Definition of Faith.

During the centuries when the Church was settling the Canon of Holy Scripture and the Rule of Faith, and combating those heresies whose victory would have destroyed Christianity, in whose hands do the records show the testimony that settled the Canon of Scripture

* Hardouini Acta Coun., Vol. I., pp. 809 A, 1525 E.

and the Canon of Faith? In the hands of the Historic Episcopate in Council assembled and there registering the faith of the Church as "Everywhere, always, and by all believed." Can we reasonably suppose the Church giving her enforcing "assent of the governed" to a body thus acting upon *vital* questions of faith and practice unless she accepted that body, the Historic Episcopate, as having the sovereignty, exercised by it, by successive transmission, continuous, therefore historic, and therefore in its source Apostolic as from those Apostles who first exercised the same powers? The Apostles first exercised sovereignty over the Church, which sovereignty they received from Christ by consecration. Whoever exercises sovereignty in the Church—after them—receives it either by constitution conferring it from the people or by succession from the Apostles. The Historic Episcopate exercised sovereignty in the Church, as fact of law. Therefore the Historic Episcopate received such sovereignty either by constitution from the people or by succession from the Apostles. No legal record of such constitution conferring sovereignty from the people exists. Therefore the Historic Episcopate received sovereignty by succession from the Apostles. This gives us, we believe, the reason why the Bishops first state the "substantial deposit of Christian Faith and Order *committed* by

Christ and His Apostles," and under it include the "Historic Episcopate."

We venture to suggest here that the expression Historic Episcopate is not so indefinite as some interpreters of the Bishops' Declaration would have us believe.

In concluding this part of our subject, let us bear clearly in mind that law expresses in positive enactment the belief of the body enacting, and *accepting it*, upon the subjects acted upon. Hence we have appealed to the legal argument on the Historic Episcopate. The question is not whether some few cases exist that seem to be, at this distance, anomalous, or whether a few writers may not have held other views of the Ministry. The question is simply, What did the Church enact as her general law, and thereby show as her belief on the Ministry, which belief underlies her law, her custom, and her decision in particular cases? Far be it from us to fail to recognize the lofty motive, noble work, and grand achievements of those exercising a non-Episcopal Ministry. We strive not to limit the power of Him whose servants we are. The Jewish Priesthood was of divine appointment by succession. Yet God used the ministry of the Prophets to sound from the heights of strong conviction and clearer spiritual vision His trumpet-calls to repentance and newer life. We are, then, solely dealing with the nor-

mal law of the Christian Ministry as seen in the law of the Church anterior to any division between the East and the West. That law is the sovereignty of the Historic Episcopate, transmitted by Apostolic Succession. And herein, we firmly believe, the American Church gives a clear and convincing answer to the question with which this section opened, Is the delivery of this positive, objective, and, therefore, dogmatic truth provided for in the organization of the Church? Unhesitatingly, yes—by the Historic Episcopate.

But we have thus far been considering the Church of to-day as answering certain questions which may be apprehended by the intellect. Such apprehension forms a basis of truth upon which the entire nature may act in motive, will, and continuous life. The Church, then, must take account of the whole nature, and hence we come to another question, Is there any point of contact between the human and the divine life other than in that apprehension of truth resulting in faith in the soul? The scientific thought of the last half-century has strengthened the teaching of the Church upon original sin as a fact of inheritance. The physiological treatment of the law of heredity has in no point weakened the force of the Catholic doctrine of the inheritance of sin; in fact, it has strengthened it. Deeper studies in the structure of the physical life are making us more

cautious about any attempt to fix with absolute certainty the point where the material ends and the spiritual begins. Have we yet sounded the full depth of the words—"For we are limbs of His body, out of His flesh and His bones," and "The last Adam became a life-producing spirit?"* We all admit that the Church of to-day must meet the needs of every part of our complex life. Knowledge comes under material forms and symbols. Life itself only wins our cognizance under the veil of material form. So we may expect that the bond between God and the soul will be thus dual—material and spiritual. The Incarnation is not an isolated fact of history. It is the potent factor of a present life, and as such a power must have extension in time. That extension is in the Sacraments of the Church as they first open to us the new life and then nourish and strengthen that life.

We hear a great deal of revising Christianity in these days to meet the needs of the thought of to-day. What is really needed is a firm and clear restatement of the old truths and a revision of the hearts of men to meet temptations and sins which are not especially peculiar to the present. The truths, called dogma, delivered once for all need no revision, though there may be such a statement of

* Eph. v., 30, μέλη, 1 Cor. xv., 45, πνεῦμα ζωοποιούν.

them as will make them more readily apprehended. For example, the statement of the law and doctrine of the Sacramental System will be in the technical theological terms in which centuries have enshrined these mysteries. Yet there may also be a restatement of the old truth in terms of present-day thought which may render it easier to grasp the Church's meaning and so furnish new stepping-stones to the higher realities of the old faith. The real attack of infidelity to-day is directed against objective truth and objective grace. Destroy the clear faith of Christian men in these and there is little left to fight for. Dogma as the authoritative body of truth, objective and unchanging, and grace as the result of the Incarnation, objective and real in each Sacrament—these are the objects of attack by the more profound infidel thought of the day. Doubt or hesitancy of statement upon these two facts is simply parleying with the enemy under the fancied security of broad views and so-called liberality.

We are cognizant of the existence of that spiritual power which we call force under the forms of matter. The reality of that force no one doubts. In physical science this is objective spiritual force. Nor is there any objection to admitting that such force is objective. So under the material form in Holy Sacraments, when duly

conferred, there is the objective spiritual force or power which we call grace. Why should we admit the truth of objective force in nature, but deny it in the case of the Sacraments? It is difficult to see any good reason. But let us not overlook here the difference between stating the fact and attempting to explain the mode of existence of the fact. We state the fact of the objective grace in the Holy Sacraments. The mode of its being is not revealed; hence the Church has not stated any doctrine as to mode. This is one of God's unrevealed mysteries. The Apostle knew the objective grace given unto him, and equally that the Apostles were the "Stewards of the mysteries of God." So the Church and the deepest thought of reverent science meet on this common ground—objective force or power in nature under material form—objective grace in the Sacraments under the veil of the outward and visible sign. And the presence of this grace is all the more real because unseen, "For the things which are not seen are eternal."

In the Jewish Church God declared the time, place, and material form under which the devout Israelite might rest sure of the divine presence. This was essentially the Sacramental principle, and was so well known and felt by the Jews that the principle is not restated by our blessed Lord. Acting upon this accepted principle, He states

the twofold gifts of grace given under material form in the two great Sacraments. Here, then, is the point of contact between the human and the divine life—not in intellectual apprehension, which may be in error, but in the gift of divine grace under the veil of material form and such grace joined to the outward sign by the word of the Son of God, both divine and human, “Jesus Christ the same yesterday, and to-day, and forever.” The efficacy of that grace, so far as the results in the soul’s life are concerned, we grant to be conditioned by the spiritual state of the receiver. And this is so, for the reason that he is a recipient of a grace that is objective and exists independent of the state of the receiver. Responsibility for the unworthy reception of the Sacraments is distinctly based on the fact of such objective presence of grace which the unworthy soul does not realize. Hence St. Paul’s terrible words of the unworthy communicant. St. Paul prefaces his account of the institution of the Holy Eucharist by the statement that he delivered to the Corinthians “That which I received from the Lord.” He then gives the result thus: “So that whoever eateth this bread or drinketh the cup of the Lord unworthily, is chargeable with the body and blood of the Lord.” “For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment to himself since he discerns not the

Lord's body."* The ground of the charge and the guilt is the failure to discern the Lord's body. Just here note the position of the Church of England and the American Church. Following the Church of the early ages, these Churches simply state the fact of the divine, spiritual—and therefore real—presence in the Holy Eucharist. They make no attempt to explain the mystery, content to believe the fact, and thus they are at one with Catholic Christianity in its earliest days. In the Sacrament of Baptism, the Master and His Apostles knew the reality of grace given. "Except a man be born from above he cannot see the Kingdom of God." "Except a man be born of water and the spirit he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God." "For so many of you as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ." Stronger language we need not to show the mind of Christ and His Apostles as to the new birth in Baptism and as a statement of grace given under outward material form. Roman metaphysical theory has explained away the mystery of the great Sacrament. Protestant rationalism has equally explained away the objective grace of the Sacraments. In direct line with the ancient Church, and hence as a *via media* only because

* 1 Cor. xi., 27-29, ὥστε ἐνοχος κρίμα μή διακρίνων τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου.

going straight on between two departures from primitive Christianity, the American Church witnesses still to the truth of the Sacraments as mysteries and as channels of divine grace, positive and objective. Herein, then, we find an answer to the question, What point of contact is there between the human and the divine life? In the Sacraments as channels of the grace of God, grace objective because not dependent upon the recipient for its existence. But we must pass on to the question that is coming more and more into prominence, especially among Christians of other names who are considering the Declaration of the House of Bishops. For some years there has been a growing conviction that worship has been left in a subordinate place to preaching, and hence that improvement is needed in the form of public worship. Hence there have been put forth, from time to time, forms for public worship according to the mind of some one author or of some committee. The real point is, not the *form* of public worship, but *what is* public worship? what is the *central* and, therefore, *essential idea* of public worship? Has the American Church any answer, then, to the question, What is the expression of the faith of Christianity in public worship? We have found the Church to be the witness to a deposit of truth, positive, objective, and hence called dogma. Provision for the de-

livery of that truth to the end of the world, we have seen in the Historic Episcopate transmitted by Apostolic Succession. Further, we have seen the connecting link between the life of the soul and God to be in the grace given in holy Sacraments. In faith and grace the Church is the witness to what she has received—not a revealer of new faith or new grace. She is a trustee, then, both as to the objective faith and the objective grace. In her public worship she will continue to act as a body to which a divine trust has been committed. Her work will be to show forth and witness to the faith and grace which have been intrusted to her. In worship, also, the Church of to-day has received in trust those jewels of public devotion which the Church Catholic has set in her liturgic worship. The central ideas of public worship, in all ages, are prayer and sacrifice. The Church's public prayers are thus not alone pleadings for help, but the full, sweet harmonies of her love and adoration of her divine Lord as His hand touches the trembling chords of her longing and adoring heart. Anticipating his death on the morrow, the blessed Lord instituted the unbloody sacrifice of the "Pure offering"—the Holy Eucharist—as the great act of Christian worship. And herein, saith the Apostle, "Ye do show forth the Lord's death till he come." Upon the basis of the sacrifice of the

cross the Church pleads for the sins of the whole world, offering before God the Father the Memorial of His only begotten Son. She thus not only witnesses to her faith, in public worship, but also lifts her soul in prayers which are the voice of love and adoration.

Whatever public devotion the Church of the future may have, it must keep these central thoughts of the past, sacrifice and prayer, as the great keynotes of the public worship. In doing this, we shall more and more realize that worship is the growth of the ages and not the ready voice of the present. Worship must speak to the eye and ear, as well as to the mind, and hence must have that simplicity of grandeur which may bring out in clear outlines the central thoughts of which we have been speaking. Ceremonial will, therefore, be the embodiment of faith and doctrine, valuable in the degree in which it teaches the faith once for all delivered in the dignity of those offerings of prayer and thanksgiving which cluster about the pure offering—the Holy Eucharist. In this sense ceremonial will be the natural and reverent embodiment of faith and love, the outward expression of thoughts deeper than words. The revival of ceremonial is the natural result of the deepening sense on the part of clergy and people that the American Church is an organic part of the

One Catholic and Apostolic Church of the ages, and to-day a living member of the same. Humbly, therefore, as those who have such a trust committed to them, let the children of the American Church realize their privileges as Catholic Christians. If ever the fair dream of Christian unity is to have a realization, it will come through the drawing toward what is Catholic and has the consentient witness of the first ages on the part of all communions of Christians. In such a movement the American Church has the advantage of having received none of the modern developments of what is called "Popular Protestantism" into her formularies, nor has she to explain any of the equally modern Roman additions to the creeds of the councils. Her positive strength lies in her ability to answer the pressing demands of present thought upon authority, dogma, the Historic Episcopate, and the grace of the Sacraments, and in her inheritance of a form of worship capable of the severest simplicity of expression or of the most elaborate rendering, while retaining the essential elements of prayer and sacrifice. In the opinion of many of our most thoughtful minds, we are upon the eve of new and far-reaching movements in the Christian world. God give the American Church the grace to stand fast in her inheritance of faith and grace, and may He who once spake "Peace, be still" grant us to realize,

as the ship of the Church touches the soft shores of the land that is afar off, the gracious words of the Psalmist: "So he brought them unto the Haven where they would be.'



